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1568/150

CABINET COUNCIL;

Anne Jordan^{2a} O R, Thos. C. Fleming.

SECRET HISTORY

1799.

O F

LEWIS XIV.

IN WHICH

The Grand Scheme was concerted for assassinating King WILLIAM; the conquering of *Holland*; re-establishing King *James* upon the Throne of these Kingdoms; the Subversion of the *German* Empire; and enslaving the rest of *Europe*.

The Reader, by perusing this Tract, will clearly perceive, that though King, Ministers and Circumstances are changed, the same Spirit presides over *French* Councils, though at different Periods; and that *Louis XV.* is but what his Predecessor was; the invariable Maxim of both being to divide and conquer.

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P R E F A C E.

HOW long *French* Faith has been proverbial, is not very easy to say, but it is certain they have always valued themselves upon their Humanity. The Claim they have to this, the following Sheets will evince. It is not perhaps possible, in the History of any Nation, to find crowded in so small a Compass

of Time so much Baseness, Cruelty
and Wickedness as the Reader will
find in the Consultations held in this
Cabinet Council of the Grand *Louis*;
the Truth of which is sufficiently
proved by the Events that happened
in Consequence of their Deliberation:
Had this Council studied in the School
of *Machiavel*, or in that of *Lucifer*
himself, they could not have hatched
more infernal Schemes; we see Mur-
der, Treason, and every Sort of Crime
not only practised, but justified by him
that had the Direction of the King's
Conscience. If their Policy directs,
and their Religion authorizes the Com-
mission of such Crimes, how can any
Nation

Nation expect Safety, when their Power shall be equal to their Wickedness? Could the infatuated Queen of Hungary open her Eyes, and reflect coolly upon the infamous Practices made Use of by the *French* Court, to reduce her House to its original State, and make them once again petty Counts of *Hapsbourg*; she would surely clearly perceive that the unnatural Alliance they have entered into with her, cannot be with any View of aggrandizing her; 'tis not their Interest; their View most certainly is by supporting her against the House of *Brandenbourg*, to weaken both; and by sowing the Seeds of irréconcilable Hatred

ted between the two great Powers of the Empire, who are the only Bar to her ambitious Views, have it more easily in her Power to bring about her grand Point of universal Monarchy. This she will see, and see perhaps when it is too late, for should *England* be obliged to make an inglorious Peace, the King of *Prussia* and she both weakened by their unnatural Divisions, what Power will be able to stem the Torrent? who prescribe Bounds to their insatiable Thirst of Conquest, their Lust of Power? The Arts of *France* have divided her from those whose Inclination, and indeed Interest, made them ready to stand in the Gap, who

who have wasted Millions of Treasure,
 and lost Seas of Blood in her Defence.
 Does not that vast Effusion of *British*
 Blood spilt at *Schellemburg* and *Blenheim*
 call for some Returns of Gratitude?
 Does not her own Safety point out the
 Absurdity of this new Alliance? Let
 her warmest Partizans read this, and see
 whether a settled and avowed Design
 of ruining the House of *Austria* has
 not eternally been the View of *France*.
 The Maxim of *Richelieu* was, humble
 the House of *Austria*, the rest will fall
 in Course. That this has been their
 invariable Design, their own History
 shews; and that it will always be so,
 Reason tells us: Their officious med-
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dling in the Affairs of *Germany* gives
 the Powers at Variance a fine Opportu-
 nity of making up their Differences
 and uniting against the common Foe,
 and putting it out of the Power of these
 Disturbers of Mankind from troubling
 the Repose of *Europe* for the future.

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THE Advantages arising from the taking of *Mons*, was now no longer the Subject of Conversation, though it were to *France* a Key which opened a Door into the *Spanish* Low Countries, as something of still greater Consequence seemed now to be upon the Carpet.

The Generals, *Luxemburgh de Lorge*, *d'Humieres*, *Boufflers*, *Vauban*, and others, who composed this secret Council, by their constant and unusual attendance seemed to countenance this opinion.

But where or when the Storm was to fall, seemed to puzzle the wisest Politicians

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of *Europe*, as the most profound Secrecy reigns in the Cabinet of *France*; vast Preparations were making on all Sides, the Roads were crowded with Waggon's loaded with Provision and Ammunition to fill the Magazines of *Mons, Phillippvile, Mauberge* and *Dinant*; such a Number of Bombs and Shells were scarce ever seen before, at a Season when the Roads were scarce passable for common Carriages, vast Quantities of Provisions were drawn from the conquered Countries, besides what had been raised by Contribution in that of the Enemy; and such Quantities of Hay and Oats had been drawn from *Champagne* and the circumjacent Counties, as had entirely drained them.

Besides all these Precautions, still greater were taken to prevent the Possibility of the Army being in want of any Thing; the same Artifice was used as had before been

been practised at the Siege of *Mons*; for the Commissary of Stores had taken Care to make a Provision of a hundred thousand Crowns-worth of Cheefe from *Holland*, by means of a Baker at *Ghent*; who smuggled them in; and here we may observe, that *France* often maintains her Armies by the Subsistence she draws from her very Enemies; for as she is liberal in her Bribes, she can never want People ready to sell their Country, especially in a Place so abounding with Traytors as *Brabant*; and this accounts for their daring to besiege some of the strongest Towns in *Europe* in the midst of Winter, whilst the Allies, for want of Magazines, are scarce ever able to take the Field before the Month of *June*.

This Method of over-reaching their Enemies has been long practised by the *French*. In the War of 1672, the Mar-

quiss of *Louvois* found Means a few Months before War was declared, to draw eight Millions of Livres from the Bankers of *Amsterdam* at a reasonable Interest; this, and many other Sums raised under-hand in other Towns, enabled them to carry on the War, which reduced the Republick to the very Brink of Ruin: it is likewise a known Fact, that the Marquiss of *Gastene-ga*, heretofore Governor of the Low Countries, raised prodigious Sums, by supplying the *French* with Horses to remount their Cavalry, having during the Course of that War furnished them with no less than forty thousand, by each of which it is supposed he cleared above three Pistoles.

Having stored all their Magazines, Orders were immediately sent to *Savoy*, *Germany*, and *Catalonia*, for the Troops in those different Countries to march towards *Flan-*

ders,

ders, which they were to reach by the Beginning of *April*.

And in order to conceal their grand Design, and deceive the Enemy by Marches and Countermarches, M. *Boufflers* had Orders to repair to *Mons*, and take the Command during the Absence of M. de *Luxembourg*, who had remained at *Paris* to assist at the grand Council, which was to regulate the Plan of Operations for the next Campaign, and to obviate some Difficulties started by Messieurs *Vauban* and *Magrini*; and as these two Engineers are not only the greatest of the present Age, but also the greatest that *France*, or perhaps any other Nation ever saw, and were without any Hyperbole, the King of *France's* Right-hand, having contributed greatly to that Success which so surprized and alarmed all *Europe*, they were sent for to *Versailles* to assist the grand Council,

which was to determine the Fate of *Europe*.

Every Thing was ready for holding this Council ; the Generals, who had been sent for, all attended, yet the Number was but small, the King having ever been extremely cautious in trusting his Secrets to but a few, and those of cool Heads, on whose Fidelity he might rely ; and to this necessary Caution perhaps most of his Success is owing ; and if the Observation is just, that Money is the Sinews of War, it may with equal Truth be affirmed, that Secrecy is the Soul of it, which was strongly exemplified in the last Revolution of *England*, which, perhaps, was the only Time that *Louis* the XIVth ever suffered himself to be deceived, as he takes such Precautions, and has such a Number of Emissaries scattered up and down, whom he rewards liberally. He has, as it were, the

Key

Key of every Cabinet in *Europe* in his Pocket.

But in the Case of *England* there seemed to be something miraculous: How should it otherwise happen that the Prince of *Orange* in such a Place as the *Hague*, beset as he was with *French* Spies, should have found a Way to bring so great a Project to bear, which was above a Year in concerting, and which he only communicated to two People; the one was the Pensionary *Fagel*, the other was *M. Dickvelt*, that he should be able to make the necessary Preparations, and effect the Reduction of three Kingdoms, and by one of the boldest Strokes that perhaps was ever struck, rescue *Europe* from Slavery; and this in the Sight of two powerful Kings, prepared to oppose his Design, who treated his Project as chimerical, in which he

must undoubtedly perish, as the Duke of *Monmouth* had done before him.

The Council being at length assembled, the King had a private Conference with each of the Generals, and ordered them into his Closet one after the other. M. *Luxembourg* was first called in, as he was the favourite General, and one in whom the King placed the greatest Confidence, and looked upon him as the chief Supporter of the Glory of *France*.—But before we proceed, it may not be displeasing to the Reader to have a short History of this great Commander. He was not, as it has often been believed, sprung from that great House of *Luxembourg*, which has given so many Emperors to *Germany*, and so many Kings to *Hungary* and *Bohemia*. He is not even come from the titular Dukes of *Luxembourg* and *Pincy*, Princes of *Tingry*, but he is the posthumous Son of *Francis*, Lord
of

of *Bouteville*, of the House of *Montmorency*, who was beheaded at *Paris* the 21st of *June* 1627, for having killed a gentleman in a Duel, which happened during the Ministry of Cardinal *Richelieu*.

The present Duke of *Luxembourg* was then in the Cradle, and the Countess his Mother, after the Death of her Husband, retired into the Country, where she led a very melancholy Life, till her Son, whom she was extreamly fond of, had reached his seventh Year, at which Time she purposed taking him out of the Hands of the Women, and putting him under the Care of proper Tutors, in order to his receiving an Education suitable to his Birth and Quality.

But upon mature Reflection, she judged that the Court, who had deprived him of a Father, was in some Measure bound to

take Care of his Advancement in the World; she therefore set out for *Paris* with a very slender Equipage; she waited upon his Majesty at *St. Germain's*, and desired an Audience, which was granted; the Prince and some other Noblemen were then in the Presence, and were extreamly surprized at the Arrival of this Lady, who for many Years had not appeared at Court, and were endeavouring to guess at the Cause of her coming, when she appeared with her Son in her Hand, whom she presented to the King: This, Sire, says she, is the last of the noble Family of *Montmorenci*, which I have now the Honour to present to your Majesty; dispose of him as you shall think proper. The King was going to say something to her, but she made a Curt'sie and withdrew, leaving her Son behind her. The Prince of *Condi*, who was naturally generous and humane, was struck with the Fate of this

poor Orphan, and told the King that he had formerly known his Father and the Count *de Montmorenci*, and for their Sakes would take Care of this their Offspring. The King gave his Consent, and the Prince took him home, and had him brought up with all the Care imaginable, but was particular in his being taught to ride, which perhaps gave Rise to the following idle Tale; which was, that an old Officer who had been brought up in Count *Bouteville's* Family, had often declared that the Duke, when born, was a fine well made Child, and remained so till he was ten Years old; but that the Prince endeavouring to force Nature as it were, so fatigued him with riding and fencing before he was able to endure such violent Exercise, that he was nothing but Legs and Thighs. But this could not be the Case, if we consider the Hunch upon his Back, which must have been a natural Defect;
for

for we know by daily Experience that Exercise helps our Growth; however that be, he found the Way to Favour, and was the Man after the King's own Heart. We must not wonder that he was entrusted with the Command of his Majesty's Armies, as he had many Times dared to say, that he thanked God for having sent him into the World without Pity or Remorse, that he might be the better qualified to execute his Master's Purposes; Sentiments truly Christian, and worthy such a Man as the Duke of *Luxembourg*.

But in regard to his Hunch, it may not be improper to observe, that the Day after the Battle of *Fleurus*, being complimented on his Success by the Officers of his Army, he told them, in pointing to his Hunch, that he had there a Corps de Reserve of forty thousand Men, which his Enemies knew nothing of, which
would

would always make him victorious, intimating by that, the Craft he made Use of, which no doubt gave Rise to his being accused of Necromancy; which Craft he has since communicated to many other *French* Generals: the Marquis *de Boufflers*, who was one of his chief Pupils, has done him much Honour, and is the only one who seems to have profited most by his Master's Lessons.

The King seeing him come in, said, *Luxembourg*, you are the Man upon whom *France* has her greatest Dependance; my People look upon you as their *Turenne*, and I as my Right Hand; you see me now engaged in a cursed War that consumes my Finances, beggars my Subjects, and ruins my Kingdom, which makes me apprehend dreadful Consequences; 'tis a slow Fever, which by degrees saps my Kingdom, and I fear in the End it will be
come

come like *Spain*, an uncultivated Desert,
without People or Power.

Sire, says *Luxembourg*, I humbly thank
your Majesty for having forgot my past
Faults, and for honouring me with the
Command of your Army, in Preference
to the Marshal *d'Humieres*, who is not only
much older than I am, but has more Ex-
perience. I have also many Obligations
to the late Marquis *de Louvois*, my wor-
thy Friend; and to that valuable Lady
Madam Maintenon, who both solicited my
Enlargement, and used all their Influence
to prevail upon your Majesty to free me
from the *Bastille*, where I had been impri-
soned on account of the Death of the Count
Soissons, and some other Matters I was
charged with. I own I did not expect to
be taken into Favour, your Majesty hav-
ing entertained a particular Aversion to me
since the War of 1672; on the other
Hand,

Hand, I cannot but be highly pleased, that my Innocence has at last prevailed over the Malice of my Enemies : I shall always remember Father *la Chaise* and Madam *de Montespan*, who were the principal Causes of my Disgrace ; and as it is natural to resent an Injury, I shall take a proper Opportunity to let them know, I am neither a Necromancer, nor a Disciple of Madam *Brinvilliers* of infamous Memory.

Come, says the King ; let us think no more of former Quarrels ; and though what they have reported of you were true, that you had a familiar Spirit that helped you to conquer, to gain the Love of Women, and to please me, I will in return for the Services you have done me in the last Dutch War, and those you are doing me in this, order all the Proceedings against you to be erased out of the Records, and make

make it Death for any Person to reproach you directly or indirectly upon that Head.

Sire, says *Luxembourg*, I thank your Majesty for the Care you are pleased to take of my Reputation; and I engage my Word and Honour, that in Return for so great a Favour, I shall do all in my Power to destroy your Enemies, and promote your Interests.

You know, said the King, that the first Campaign, which was that of 1689, I had given the Command of my Army to Marshal *d'Humieres*; and that that General, who is in fact a good Kind of Man, did me many Services. It was he I had sent Ambassador to *England* upon the Death of *Charles* the Second, and he punctually executed my Orders; for *James*, who had just been crowned King of the three Kingdoms, received him with open Arms,

Arms, and chearfully accepted the Alliance I proposed; but that unfortunate Prince not taking my Advice, found himself surrounded with many Difficulties, and has plunged me in a War, which has armed all *Europe* against me. But to come to the Subject; having chose him to command in *Flanders* against the Prince of *Walldeck*, who is an able General, so far as regards the March, or Encampment of an Army, but unlucky in the Management of a pitched Battle; I observed that in that first Year, the Marshal suffered himself to be outwitted by that Prince, and lost many Advantages in the Course of that Campaign. I remember the Battle of *Wallcourt*, which was the Feast of the great *St. Louis*, the Patron and Protector of my Kingdom, that all my Household was cut in Pieces; but I forgive him with all my Heart, because he meant well, and thought to have done me Honour on
that

that Day ; the want of Genius in him was not the only Cause of that Check, but by his Sloth, he favoured the Enterprizes of the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the Electors who gained three considerable Towns that Year. The late Marquiss of *Louvois*, whose Loss I now regret, had foretold this ; he was a good Physiognomist, and knew Men well, and seldom was deceived in his Choice of proper Persons to Places of Trust, which is the Reason that during my whole Reign I have been well served. It was he who recommended *Catinat* to command in *Italy*, who he said was a Man of Experience, and who had raised himself by his Merit from a common Soldier to what he was. I had made Choice of the Duke of *Duras* to command in *Germany*, but he advised me to send Marshal *de Lorges*, his Brother, as a Man of a milder Temper, and speedier in Execution, and consequently fitter to take Advantage of the natural

natural Sloth of the *Germans*. I had also made Choice of the Count of *Laufun* to command in *Ireland*, at the Solicitation of *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, my Cousin; but poor Man, he is not what he has been; and the Affairs of that Kingdom took quite a different Turn after the Loss of the Battle of the *Boyne*, where he commanded jointly with King *James*. *Louvois* advised me to recall him, and to send the brave *St. Ruth* in his Stead, whose Memory I regard, as it was he who purged my Kingdom of the *Huguenot* Heresy; he was naturally hasty, but brave as the Sword he wore. He was very serviceable to me, and had not a Cannon Ball unhappily taken him off. I am persuaded the War would have lasted a long Time, and the Prince of *Orange* would not have been able to have made such a Figure in *Flanders*.

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It was *Louvois* likewise who recommended *Tourville* to the Command of my Fleet, as an able and brave Admiral; and I have some trouble in being able to put a Check to his Courage: as he is rather too fond of giving Battle to the Enemy, I have hitherto prevented it, because I am not quite satisfied of that which was fought in 1690, where the *Dutch* alone with twenty or twenty-two Men of War attacked my Fleet, which was composed of above fourscore large Ships, while the *English* remained idle Spectators: But what most surprized me was, that after an Engagement of above six Hours, not one of their Ships were taken, but retired in good Order, though much shattered; so that the last Year I ordered him to decline coming to an Engagement, and to avoid the Enemy as much as possible; and he has observed my Directions.

It was also the same Hand that presented the Marquis *de Boufflers* to me, though in fact Madam *Maintenon* contributed a good deal to it, for she never ceased importuning me in his Favour, and he has perfectly answered the Character they gave me of him; for he is one of the bravest Officers I have in my Armies, and whose Service turns to the most Account by the Contributions he raises, which he takes Care to be paid in ready Money, which makes a considerable Sum, destined to buy Horses to remount my Cavalry. For his good Services, I have lately promoted him to be a Captain of my Guards, besides some other good Posts he holds; besides, I intend a Marshal's Staff for him, if the War lasts but two Campaigns longer.

He likewise recommended Monsieur *Amelot*, who had formerly been my Ambassador at *Venice*, to go and reside in

Switzer-

Switzerland during the War; and I have not been deceived in him, no more than in *Boufflers*; for the one can draw a Tricker, the other can handle his Pen; and it is to his good Conduct that I attribute the good Understanding that reigns at present among the *Swiss* my worthy Cousins; a handsome Speech, backed with a Purse of my golden Namesake's, distributed sily amongst them, obtains whatever I can desire of them. They granted me last Campaign a levy of ten thousand Men, and I hope they will grant me this at least fifteen thousand, to make up the Number of forty thousand I have in my Service, with whom I am very well satisfied; they are the best Infantry I have in my Armies. I must not forget to speak a Word by the bye, of their General *Stonpa*, with whom I am likewise much pleased, who seems to have changed his Nature in changing his Religion; I mean

that

that he is become a good *Frenchman*, and has my Interest so much at heart, that he marches at the Head of his *Swiss* Troops wherever he is ordered, and laughs at the old musty Treaties, which exempts his Countrymen in my Service from fighting against the Emperor or his Allies.

It was *Louvois* also who spoke in Favour of the Count *de Bethune*, whom I have just sent to the King of *Sweden* to feel his Pulse, and try if we can't find Means to engage him to a Rupture with the Emperor; *Bidal* has wrote to me, that that Prince can no longer bridle his Resentment; and that the *English* and *Dutch* Privateers may soon make a *Frenchman* of him. I have ordered the Count *de Bethune* to say upon his Arrival at *Stockholm*, that he only came by chance, and was driven into *Sweden* by a Storm, the better to cover his Negotiation; and I have lately

lately learned that he is safely arrived there. I have also in *Holland* one of *Bethune's* Disciples, who does me infinite Service, and very seasonably succeeded the Count *d'Avaux*. The Count *de Bethune* owed a considerable Sum of Money to the Father of *Madam Moreau*, a rich Merchant at *Paris*; but being unable to satisfy the Demand, he undertook to obtain from the King of *Poland* (by my Recommendation) Letters of Credence for Mr. *Moreau* her Husband, who by this Means was able, as the saying is, to kill two Birds with one Stone, by calling himself the King of *Poland's* Envoy; but in fact supplying the Place of the Count *d'Avaux*. I am very well pleased with his Conduct, and look upon him as the most useful Correspondent I have in *Holland*.

As soon as Count *Bethune* has prepared Things in the North, I shall immediately send

send the Count *d'Avaux* and *Pontchartrain* to put the finishing Hand to the Affair. I have made Choice of these two Ministers, the former for *Sweden*, and the latter for *Denmark*, as being well qualified to bring these two Crowns to offer their Mediation; their Intrigues backed by a few Millions may bring about a Peace, or at least set it in great forwardness. *D'Avaux* has been very serviceable to me in *Holland*, and is perfectly acquainted with the Republican Spirit. *St. Didier*, his Secretary, whom I call his *Achates*, has Orders to follow him, because he is well skilled in dressing up a Memorial, proper to convince and persuade them into my Measures.

Monsieur Rabenak was likewise presented to me by him; and I remember he told me when he recommended him, that he was one of the most active of my Subjects, and would be infinitely serviceable to me

if I sent him Embassador to the northern Crowns, which I did; I also sent him to the late Elector of *Brandenburgh*, where he was of great Use to me; for by his Means I was acquainted with every Thing that passed at that Court. The Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* likewise had no Secrets but what I was presently informed of; so that I stood in no Need of any other Spy in those Countries: but I have since recalled him, and have sent *Bidal* in his room, who has the Care of my Affairs at this Time in those Countries.

But, says *Luxembourg*, I have been informed your Majesty had lately sent him into *Italy*, to engage the Princes of that Country to support your Measures, or at least to observe an exact Neutrality.

True, says the King; and I hope he will be able to traverse the Designs of the *Ger-*
mans,

mans, and prevent the *Italian* Princes from granting them Winter Quarters. He has Orders to attend the different Courts by Turns, and I flatter myself his Negotiations will be attended with Success; for the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, and the Republick of *Genoa* are already brought over, and I think the rest will soon follow.

Sire, says the Duke, is not he also to take a Tour to *Rome*, to kiss the Popes Slipper? for I find his present Holiness is a better *Frenchman* than either *Alexander* the VIIIth, or *Innocent* the XIth, his immediate Predecessors.

Yes, says the King; the old Gentleman is a very good Friend of mine, and grants almost every Thing I can ask, but I never could bring the two last to comply with any Thing; this has granted the necessary Bulls to all the Bishops of my Kingdom,

and has promised the Count *d'Etrees*, that he will endeavour to restore Peace to Christendom.

But pray Sire, says *Luxembourg*, how does your Majesty approve of *Chateauneuf*, whom I took the Liberty of recommending to be your Ambassador at *Constantinople*?

Very well, said the King; he has found the Art of wheedling the Grand Signior, and is much in Favour with the Vizir, who has promised him not to hearken to any Terms of Peace, at least during this Campaign; but I should tell you this Favour was obtained at the Expence of two hundred thousand Crowns, which *Chateauneuf* paid him down immediately.

Money, says the Duke, is the Spring that sets all to work; if that Resource should

should fail, your Majesty would be a good deal puzzled. This puts me in Mind of *Charles* the Vth; one of your Majesty's Predecessors, who was surnamed the *Wise*, who without ever stirring out of his Cabinet always got the better of the *English*, and accomplished all his Designs. At his Death he was called rich, because he left seventeen Millions of Crowns, which was a prodigious Sum in those Days. I doubt if your Majesty had lived in those Times, whether you would have been able to have brought Things to bear with so small a Sum, as you are hardly able to do it now with three hundred Millions, which you annually draw from your Subjects.

Luxembourg, says the King; an absolute Prince is consequently Master of the Riches of his Subjects; and in their Wealth finds an inexhaustible Mine, infinitely more so than those of *Mexico* and *Peru*; for we see

the King of *Spain*, who imports the Wealth of the *Indies*, and disperses it all over *Europe*, is himself a Beggar.

Sire, says the Duke, if your Predecessors, *Henry the IVth*, and *Louis the XIIIth* had been arbitrary like your Majesty, especially *Henry*, who was an active Prince, what would he not have done?

The true Art of reigning, said the King, was unknown to them, and they did not know how to put *Machiavel's* Lessons in Practice, nor those of *Richelieu* and *Mazarine*; so that I see of all my Ancestors, but *Louis the XIth* who practised the useful Maxim, which says, that Dissimulation is the great Art of reigning. Now we are upon the Subject of Money, said *Luxembourg*, how does your Majesty like *Pamphtraine*, who was recommended to you by the late *Monsieur Colbert*, as a Man
intirely

intirely capable of managing your Finances?

Pont-chartrain, says his Majesty, is extremely useful to me, and I don't know what I should do without him when I am short of Money, which happens pretty often, by the large Demand the War occasions. I only tell him I want so many Millions; and as he has a very fruitful Genius, he immediately contrives some new Tax, and raises the Money in an instant.

I believe, says the Duke, your Majesty has Reason to regret the Loss of *Colbert*, who seemed to understand the Nature of Taxes as well as any Man living.

He was hated by the People, says the King, and accused with having ruined the Kingdom, though he never had done any Thing without my Order; nevertheless he

was the Instrument of many Things which I should never have thought of without him; yet upon the whole, I was not sorry when Death removed this Object of the People's Hatred; and as they are fond of Novelty, they conceived great Hopes of *Pont-chartrain*.

But I think, said *Luxembourg*; that *Colbert* had amassed a vast Sum, and left his Children extreamly rich.

Yes, says his Majesty; but after his Death the Water returned to its Spring; I caused ample Restitution to be made; I made Use of a specious Pretence to squeeze the Sponges, which brought some Millions to my Coffers.

Well, Sire, says the Duke, let us leave those Matters which do not regard the War; your Majesty has no Time to lose,
you

you must be beforehand with your Enemies, and open the Campaign early; so you must come to a speedy Resolution.

You are right, said the King; and that was the Reason why I sent for you; and my other Generals, to hear your Opinion one after another, and know what I am to undertake: And as you are the only one in whom I most confide; and that besides my Intention is to make *Flanders* the Theatre of War, and where I shall make the greatest Efforts, I am willing to unbosom myself to you without Reserve: You are a Man of Experience, and the War of 1672 has given you a Light into the Nature of the Country. I regret the poor Prince of *Condé*; he also was well acquainted with the Genius, and different Views of the *Spaniards* and *Hollanders*; *Schomberg* would likewise have been of great Service to me, but his Bigotry to

his Religion was the Cause of his being killed at the Battle of the *Boyne* in *Ireland*. *Turenne*, whom I may call the Flower of my Generals, had he lived in earlier Days, would have been ranked among the Gods; and I shall never forget the Services he did me in *Germany*. But of so many brave Men as I have had to command my Armies, you are the only one remaining; so I desire you would not expose yourself too much; take as much Care of yourself as you do of my Army; for if I should happen to lose you, I don't know who I could trust with the Command; having for the most Part but Lieutenant Generals who are fitter to command small Parties than to head such an Army as that I design for *Flanders*; as the Prince of *Orange*, who commands the Confederates, would in all Probability have the Advantage, if he had to do only with Novices in the Art of War. The Elector of *Bavaria*, who shares
the

the Command, has a good Head ; and these two Princes, who are watchful of Opportunities, if they should gain a Battle, would not slip so fair an Occasion of penetrating into *France*.

But another Thing which chagrines me is, that the Prince of *Orange*, who has ascended his Father-in-law's Throne, not content with that Success, has found Means to drive me out of the Low Countries, and endeavours to deprive the Dauphin, my Son, of these Provinces, fallen to his Mother by the Death of Queen *Elizabeth* her Mother ; that of her Brother *Don Bathazar*, and of the Catholick King, *Philip* the IVth his Father. The Stratagem he has made Use of for this Purpose was, to persuade *Charles* the IIId, King of *Spain*, to make a Gift during Life of the *Spanish* Low Countries to the Elector of *Bavaria*. Some Years ago they touched
upon

upon this String, but I protested against it, and threatened to enter *Flanders* with a powerful Army, without regarding the Truce; so they thought proper for the Peace of those Countries, and the Repose of *Europe*, to drop the Affair till another Opportunity.

Sire, says *Luxembourg*, this was occasioned by the taking *Mons*, and the good Correspondence we held with the Marquis *de Gastanage*, who discovered the Affair. The Prince of *Orange* seeing the *Spanish* Netherlands were sold by the Avarice of its Governors, thought of a Master Stroke of Policy, by endeavouring to convey them into Hands that would have run all Hazards to preserve them.

But can they, said the King, with any Degree of Justice dispute my Son's Title, as they cavilled at his Birth; when all

Europe

Europe knows that I married *Maria Theresa*, Infanta of *Spain*, immediately after the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, and that she was brought to bed of him at *Fontainebleau* the first of *November* 1661.

Says *Luxembourg*, Sire, this is not the Thing in Question; no-body doubts his being your Son by the Infanta of *Spain*; and every one is satisfied of the Fruitfulness of that Princess; and as to your Majesty, there are many living Proofs of your being so. *Madam Fontange*, *la Valliere*, and *Montespan*, put it out of all doubt; and what corroborates that Proof is, the Birth of the Duke of *Maine*, the Princess of *Conti*, and *Mademoiselle de Blois*, now Dutches of *Chartres*. As to *Madam de Maintenon*, who succeeded the other Ladies, I shall say little about, because I am convinced all there is Labour lost, unless the Miracle of *Sarah* was performed upon her;

her; but in regard to Mademoiselle de Blois, I must tell your Majesty by the Way, that her Marriage with the Duke de Chartres was the Subject of much Conversation in foreign Countries, but particularly in *Holland*, where even the most trifling Actions of Kings are criticised: They are all Politicians, even the Women; they observed that your Majesty had by that Marriage, and that of the Princess de Conti, mixed base Blood with pure; and if Things went on in that Manner, there would not be a Drop of your legitimate Blood left in *France*; and nothing would remain in the Royal Family but the Children of *la Valiere* and *Montespan*.

But to come to the Subject in Hand, the Allies pretend that the Renunciation your Majesty made at the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*,

Pyrenees, has set aside the Right you had to that Succession.

I grant, says the King, I gave up my own Right, but I could not give up that of my Son: No Law can empower a Father to alienate a Child's Right when he is a Minor; especially if he claims that Right by the Mother's Side.

But, says *Luxembourg*, your Marriage was agreed on but on this Condition; and your Majesty's Renunciation of your present and future Pretensions to the Crown of *Spain* was considered as the Basis of this Marriage; otherwise it would have been the highest Degree of Folly in the Ministers of *Spain* to have concluded a Treaty which sowed the Seeds of future Divisions, instead of the lasting Peace which they had in View. I must add, that the Circumstance of your Majesty's solemn

Oath upon the Holy Evangelists to confirm this Treaty, was the Pledge they took for the due Performance of it.

According to you, then said the King, my Pretensions are ill founded; and I have no Right, even according to the Spirit of that Treaty. No, says *Luxembourg*; but a hundred thousand Men, a hundred Pieces of Cannon, and a hundred Millions will turn the Scale. It is usual to represent Justice blind, with a Ballance in her Hand; but had she been represented with a Sword in it, and a Lion by her Side, which is the Emblem of Power, she would not have been looked upon as an idle Phantom; for he that has Strength on his Side commands Justice, and she is obliged to side with him in Spite of her; she must fight under his Standard against the weakest, and so far Justice is on your Majesty's Side.

Then,

Then, says the King, if Things are so, and that I find myself Master of Power, and consequently of Justice, am not I in the right to push my Fortune as far as it can go, and become Master by Means of my triumphant Army of every Thing that opposes me; and let my Enemies get Justice on their Side by the same Means?

Very well, says *Luxembourg*; I grant there is nothing but the Faith of Treaties can stop the Progress of your Majesty's Arms; but I remember a Saying of *John* the First of the House of *Valois*, one of your Majesty's Ancestors, who was so great an Observer of his Word, that he obtained the Title of *Good*. He used to say, that if Truth was banished from the World, it ought still to be found in the Person of a King.

That

That Prince reply'd, his Majesty had never studied *Machiavel*; and you ought to have observed that he was unhappy during his whole Reign: and perhaps his being a too religious Observer of his Word was the Cause of his Misfortunes; for when he lost the Battle of *Poitiers* against the *English*, commanded by the *Black Prince*, he was taken and carried Prisoner to *London*, and was released but by the Treaty of *Bretigny*; by which he gave up some Provinces of *France* to the King of *England* to hold in Sovereignty; but all *John's* Errors were gloriously repaired by his immediate Successor *Charles* the Fifth, who obtained the Name of *Wise*.

Sire, says *Luxembourg*, as your Majesty laughs at the Faith of Treaties, which other Princes hold sacred and inviolable, I am not surprized at your many Conquests;

quests; there is no petty Prince in the World but may by this Means aggrandize himself, and become the Terror of his Neighbours; but we ought not to wish for the Peace of Mankind, that this Opinion should prevail; for every Prince in *Europe* must then become a Prey to the strongest.

But, says the King, if we are not permitted to aggrandize ourselves, how came the Prince of *Orange* to ascend his Father-in-law's Throne, is it not an Usurpation?

This Case, says *Luxembourg*, is not without Example, History is full of them, and we find that *Childeric*, who was the last King of the first Race, was dethroned by *Pepin the Short*, who was before but Mayor of the Palace, which was a Post something like the Grand Vizir's; and his Deposition was agreed on by the Assembly
of

of the States, after the *Pope* had declared that the *French* were absolved from the Oath they had taken to him; so that the dethroned *Childeric* had no other Course to take than to throw himself in a Monastery; but as his Misfortunes were owing to Reasons of State, which would take up too much Time to relate, I shall not enter into a Detail of them. As to the Prince of *Orange*, he also ascended the Throne by the Consent of the People who had called him in, and the Parliament, which is in *England* what the States were formerly in *France*, confirmed the People's Choice, and crowned him King *Nemine Contradicente*; so that his possessing the Crown was by fair Election, and can by no Means be considered in the Light of Usurpation.

So then according to you, said the King, the Prince of *Orange's* Claim is well founded; and poor King *James* has no other

other Step to take, but in Imitation of *Childeric* to throw himself into a Monastery.

I am afraid, says *Luxembourg*, I am making an ill Use of the Liberty your Majesty allows me of speaking my Sentiments freely; but as your Majesty at the beginning of this Conference was pleased to assure me you put some Confidence in me; you will also please to permit me to abstain from the fulsome Praises bestowed on you by Parasites, who flatter you upon every Measure you are pleased to undertake.

No, *Luxembourg*, said the King; I am obliged to you for speaking your Thoughts freely; and I am not surprized at your doing so, because I have always observed a Sincerity in you, which I never found in any other of my Courtiers or Counsellors.

Sire,

Sire, says *Luxembourg*, as your Majesty gives me Leave to speak my Opinion in regard to King *James*, and of the War now kindled in *Europe* upon his Account, I shall not mention the Desire your Majesty has had from your Cradle of surpassing your Ancestors, of aggrandizing your Dominions, and pushing your Conquests beyond the *Rhine*, the *Sambre*, and the *Maese*, nor of the Right you claim from your late Queen. I shall not mention the antient Quarrel between you and the Emperor, as well as the other Princes of the Empire, nor of the secret Animosity which has a long Time subsisted between the Houses of *Austria* and of *Bourbon*, but shall come to the Point. It is plain to me that your Majesty was the Aggressor in the War of 1689, which is now four Years ago, which you entered into first with a
View

View to universal Monarchy. Secondly, upon Account of Pope *Innocent* the XIth, who opposed your Schemes. Thirdly, on Account of the Cardinal *de Furstemberg*. Fourthly, to prevent the Ruin of the *Ottoman* Empire: And lastly, to re-place King *James* upon the Throne.

Of these five Articles I shall mention but one, and that is the last; which is, in my Opinion, of the most Importance; and which I look upon to be an invincible Obstacle to a glorious Peace, which ought to be the sole Motive of your Majesty's Enterprizes. I shall therefore observe, that your Majesty finds itself a good deal embarrassed to sustain the Weight of this War, which is one of the most bloody, and the most pernicious one that *France* was ever engaged in. And if you look over History, you will find that *Charles* the VIIth, *Francis* the Ist, *Charles* the VIIIth, *Charlemain*,

Charlemain, *Henry* the IVth, nor *Lewis* the XIIIth had ever so many Enemies to encounter with. But what surprizes me most is, that in the midst of so many Enemies, your Majesty enjoys the same Tranquillity as if you were in the profoundest Peace.

Things being thus circumstanced, I have but one Thing more to ask of your Majesty, which I beg you will acquaint me with without any Reserve; after which I engage to trace out a Way that shall lead you to a lasting Peace in less than two Campaigns; and here I beg your Majesty's Patience, and shall briefly mention the several Powers of *Europe*, their Views, Interests and Connexions; those you are to engage with, and those whose Friendship ought to be courted, in order to obtain that Peace you are so desirous of.

As

As to the *English*, they have no Friends; they are a People without Faith, without Religion, Strangers to Justice and Probity, jealous of their Neighbours, cruel, Gluttons, proud and yet mean; covetous to the last Degree, fierce even to Ferocity, fit for desperate Undertakings, and the speedy Execution of them, but incapable of conducting a War with Judgment. Their Country is well enough to live in, but not capable of furnishing the Means to conquer; nor have they ever made the least Conquest, excepting *Ireland*, whose Natives are weak and wretched Soldiers; on the contrary, they themselves have been conquered by the *Romans*, the *Danes*, the *Saxons*, and the *Normans*; so that they are in short the Remains of the Scum of those different Nations. They hate each other either on Account of Religion or of Politicks; so that a War with *France* of but

D

three

three or four Years Continuance would ruin them intirely; and your Majesty ought not to make Peace with them but on very advantageous Conditions. The Way to destroy them is to oblige them to keep an Army on foot; and there is little Danger of their ever attempting to make a Descent in *France*, which would be their utter Ruin. The Jealousy their People have of a standing Army will, whenever they shall attempt to raise one, expose them to intestine Divisions. They must be perpetually alarmed, and threatened with a Descent upon *Jersey* or *Guernsey*, the Isles of *Wight* and *Man*, the Cinque Ports, and *Ireland*, which will oblige them to keep strong Garrisons in those Places, and that will induce the *English* to believe that their King is forming some vast Scheme to enslave them; for as long as a King of *England* has a standing Army, his People hate him. We must raise Suspicions and Jealousies

Houses amongst them, which may be done
 by sending Letters in Cypher to some of
 the anti-ministerial Party, and so contrive
 Matters that those may intercept them;
 and as they are naturally jealous, they will
 easily believe that some Plot is carrying
 on; or by sending some Troops to join
 the disaffected in *Ireland*, and promising
 further Assistance, induce the Catholics
 in that Kingdom to revolt. The same may
 be done in *Scotland*, the *Scotch* having a
 natural Antipathy to the *English*, espe-
 cially the Roman Catholics amongst them,
 who may easily be prevailed upon to shake
 off the Yoke, upon a Promise from King
James to restore the Abbey Lands to their
 Clergy: And if all these Springs should
 fail, the *Dutch* must be lulled to sleep with
 a Promise of assisting them in their Trade
 against their powerful Rivals. If besides
 your Majesty should give the Isle of *Dien*,
Bel-isle, or the Isle of *Rbee* to the Knights

of *Malta*, upon Condition of their behaving to the *English* as they now do to the *Ottomans*; their frequent Captures would much interrupt their Commerce, and lay them under a Necessity of keeping Guard Ships in great Number for the Protection of their Trade; which, besides the prodigious Expence it would put them to, would discourage their Merchants from sending out Ships when exposed to so many Hazards.

As to the Emperor, there is little to be apprehended from him singly; he is by no Means equal, unassisted, to support the Expence of a War; at least if he was to raise such a Number of Troops as could give him any Probability of Success; and if he was able to maintain such an Army, the raising of it would cause strange murmuring in the other Princes of the Empire, who might be prevailed on to oppose a Pas-

pass through their Territories ; besides, he will always be cautious of draining his hereditary Countries of Men, as they would then be too much exposed to the *Turks*, who would not fail of taking Advantage of the Weakness of those Countries ; besides, it is certain that the independent States of *Germany*, as well Catholick as Protestant, would apprehend it dangerous to their Freedom, if the House of *Austria* should aggrandize itself by the Spoils of any of its Neighbours, as they look upon that House as already too powerful for their united Force.

As to the *Spaniards*, their Council acts slowly, but steadily ; their Country is barren, whether naturally, or for want of Cultivation, is immaterial ; the Discovery of *America*, and the Expulsion of the *Moors* have left it thinly inhabited. *Flanders* and that Part of *Italy* they are possessed of, is

a prodigious Charge to them in Time of War; and the Revenue of those Countries is scarce sufficient to maintain Armies and Garrisons for the Defence of them; their Government is harsh and perplexed, on Account of the Monks having a great Share in it. The Inquisition is an intolerable Burthen to them; the poorer Sort are lazy and nasty, and the great ones despise the Art of War, and the Name of a Soldier amongst them is a Reproach; they prefer Pleasure and Gallantry to Things of more importance. The King of *Spain* has but little Money, and many Ways to employ that little; his Viceroy's and Governors consume a great Part of it. The *Spaniards* are proud and haughty; and provided they are treated with Respect, any Thing may be obtained from them. *Charles the Vth* used to say of them, that they appeared wise, but were Fools; and of the *French*, that they appeared Fools, but were wise.

Their

Their Power is not to be feared, their last War with us has ruined them, and the Troubles in *Portugal* have prevented their rising again : The Minority of their King, the turbulent Humour of Don *John*, and the Pretensions of many of their Lords to some of the Kingdoms that compose the *Spanish* Monarchy, increase their Weakness. *Sicily* may be tempered with, and the *Neapolitans*, if assisted, would shake off the Yoke ; and a new Pope might, perhaps, favour our Designs, if it was insinuated to him, that some of his Family might be placed upon the Throne of *Naples*, or that Kingdom annexed to the *Papal* See.

Whenever your Majesty intends to attack the *Spaniards*, it must be with Vigour, in *Flanders*, *Italy*, and in *Spain* itself, at Sea, and upon the Frontiers of *Portugal* ; this is the only Method that promises Suc-

cess, and will be productive of two Things in our Favour; the Suddenness of the Attack will disconcert their Measures, as they are by no means prepared for a sudden one; it will also intimidate their Friends, and enable their Enemies to renew their Pretensions to some Part of their Dominions. If we expect Success, we must not proceed as in the last War; we must not pretend to take Town after Town, much less to keep them, if we should take them; but of this more hereafter.

In regard to *Portugal*, that State is yet but in its Infancy, but may be useful to us in annoying the Enemy; Troops or Money should be sent there, and Rewards promised to the Soldiers in that Kingdom, who shall make a Diversion in our Favour. Emissaries must likewise be sent there, who by Bribes may be able to traverse the Designs of those who may be inclined to

Peace.

Peace. The Queen of *Portugal*, who is *French* by Birth, as well as Inclination, will strengthen that Interest; and she must be informed of what Consequence it is to her native Country; that she should do all in her Power to support this Measure; and your Majesty's Ministers must never forget, that when Terms of Peace are offered, the *Spaniards* are bad at Negociation.

The Pope, the *Venetians*, and the other Princes of *Italy* are of the same Way of thinking; they are a wise People; nothing is to be got from them by Treaties; we must e'en force. They are weak, but they know their own Interest, yet much addicted to Pleasure. Their Country is the best and finest in *Europe*; and their Attachment to it will make them put every Wile in Practice to ward off any Blow that may threaten it. The Pope will no doubt, keep fair with us, on Account of *Avignon*.

The *Venetians* are much weakened by their Wars with the *Turks*; and the Dukes of *Tuscany*, *Mantua*, *Modena*, and the *Genoese* can do nothing considerable; the Duke of *Savoy* will never venture to oppose us. As you are Master of the Key of his Dominions, a three Months War with us would ruin him; besides, it will be an easy Matter to keep him quiet, by promising to restore him to his Principality of *Geneva*; but if it should be necessary to carry the War into *Italy*, we must give them no breathing Time; for though a long Peace has made them slothful, they are a brave People when inured to the Fatigues of War.

The *Swiss* are bold even to Brutality; excellent Soldiers, but extremely mercenary; so that Money will command whatever Numbers your Majesty may stand in Need of.

The

The Majority of the *Dutch* are averse to a War; their's is a trading Nation, and War is incompatible with Trade; they cannot long subsist upon their present Footing; Democrattick Governments being subject to change, it would be necessary to intermeddle in their domestick Affairs, and excite Jealousies amongst them against their powerful Neighbours: Their Mob is unruly, the Prince of *Orange* has many Enemies, who are envious of the great Power his Family enjoys. Something might be done, which Monsieur *Barbesseux* will explain to your Majesty in its proper Place.

The King of *Denmark* is a weak Prince, his Dominions very small; and his perpetual Apprehension of the *Swedes* will prevent his embarking in a War against your Majesty.

The

The *Swedes* will never abandon your Majesty's Interests; their's is a barren Country, fertile in nothing but Men; and as they are poor, they cannot of themselves carry on a War; they are feared and hated in *Germany*; we must therefore consider them as Tools, which by Dint of Money we may make a proper Use of, either against the Emperor or the States of *Germany*, or to make a Diversion in our Favour against the *English* and *Dutch*.

Russia and *Poland* can be of little Use to us, unless it is to be a Check to the Emperor.

The Friendship of the *Porte* may be of infinite Service to us; they have been a perpetual Thorn in the Sides of the House of *Austria*, and some thousands of *Louis*

d'Or will always convince them of the Necessity of marching an Army into *Hungary*.

The States of *Tripoly*, *Tunis*, and *Algiers* are so many Nests of Pyrates; no Dependance can be made upon their Promises; they are the declared Enemies of Mankind, and your Majesty's Honour calls upon you to extirpate such Wretches from the Face of the Earth.

The Emperor of *Morocco* is a powerful Prince, whose Alliance may be useful against the *Spaniards*, and in regard to Trade; but as he is an Infidel, too much Stress must not be laid upon his Promise. This being the State of the different Powers who are likely to be either immediately or remotely engaged in the present Quarrel, your Majesty must take your Measures accordingly.

I have already told you, said the King, that I place an entire Confidence in you; and that I made Choice of you as one of my ablest Counsellors as Things now stand; because in fact I have observed that my Affairs have taken a different Turn since you have had the Command of my Armies; and I don't know whether it is that my Enemies are more afraid of you than they are of my other Generals, or whether that the familiar Spirit they say you converse with makes you more bold and intrepid: be that how it will, the Battle of *Fleurus* which you won has been of infinite Service to me, and has replaced my tottering Affairs upon a good Footing: and if any other Person had had the Command, I am afraid we should have lost it; for fifty thousand of my best Troops had much ado to beat the Enemy, who had but twenty four thousand; and I must add this Circumstance,

cumstance, that as Victory was a long Time doubtful, by the brave Resistance the Enemy's Infantry made, which you did not expect; you were obliged to animate my Troops, who refused to rally the fourth Time; and pulling off your Hat, you begged of the Officers and Soldiers to remember the Honour of *France* and the Glory of their Prince; which gave them such fresh Courage, that they returned to the Charge, and obliged Victory to declare in my Favour. I fancy if poor *d'Humières* had commanded that Day, as he did the preceding Campaign, he would have been strangely puzzled; and I likewise think, that if the Prince of *Orange* had been at the Head of their Army, you would not have beat him so easily as you did the Prince of *Waldeck*.

Sire, says the Duke, when I command against the Prince of *Orange*, I shall make
Use

Use of more Stratagems ; but when the Prince of *Waldeck* commands, I shall lead him how, and where I please. The Reason of this is, that the Prince of *Orange* despises Danger, and is present every where, gives his Orders coolly, and knows how to improve an Advantage.

But how, says the King, did you manage the Affair at *Leuse*, for he was at the Head of the Army the whole Campaign?

I took Care, says *Luxembourg*, not to attack them whilst he had the Command, but laid hold of the Opportunity his Absence gave me ; for being informed by some of my Spies that he was gone to *Breda*, I ordered my Cavalry to march in order to deceive the Enemy by a pleasant Stratagem. I took the Dukes of *Chartres* and *Maine* with me to *Tournay*, with a Design to see a Play ; we got there about Six
o'Clock

o'Clock in the Afternoon. This was the Eve of the Battle I intended to give them next Day, about Eight or Nine o'Clock in the Morning; and as we had foreseen the Prince of *Waldeck's* Spies, who were none of the best, did not fail to give him an Account that we were at the Play, which was true; but I had before given Orders to Monsieur *Roze*, the Counts *d'Auvergne* and *Villeroi*, supported by the Prince of *Soubise* and the Marquiss of *Congis*, to advance as silently as possible with about sixty or eighty Squadrons in different Columns.

When the Play was over, which was about Nine o'Clock, we took Horse and arrived at the Army; and by good Fortune a very great Fog arose about One o'Clock, which favoured our March, and by Eight o'Clock in the Morning we had got in Sight of the Enemy, who did not expect

expect us. I then ordered your Majesty's Household, which I had brought with me, to begin the Attack.

Is it true, said the King, that one of the Prince of *Orange's* Guard rode up to you Sword in Hand with an Intent to destroy you?

Yes, said *Luxembourg*, he even made a Blow at me, and that with such good Will, that had I been a clever tall Fellow, he certainly would have cut off my Head; but as I appear, when on Horseback, like little *Scarron*, whom your Majesty remembers, he mist his Blow.

That was a dear purchased Battle, said the King, I lost a great Number of good Officers, and the Flower of my Household were cut to Pieces.

Sire,

Sire, said the Duke, you must expect to lose a great many Men, for as you have always the Superiority of Numbers on your Side, your Troops are obliged to attack; and the Enemy being generally advantageously posted, we are obliged to purchase Victory at a very dear Rate.

But, says the King, if I should happen to gain many of those Victories, in four or five Campaigns I shan't have a Soldier left.

Peace, Sire, must be bought, cost what it will; were you to lose half of your Subjects in obtaining it.

I think, says the King, I had rather at once risk a general Battle; I dare say my Enemies would not refuse it if it was offered them; and if by the Valour of my
Troops

Troops I should then come off Conqueror, I should have a better Title to the Name of *Great*, which they have given me; I should then resemble *Charles Martel*, who acquired that Name by his Martial Temper, and his gallant Behaviour at the Battle of *Tours*, where the *French* killed seventy-five thousand *Moors*. I think an Action of that Sort would be infinitely more glorious than a hundred little Advantages I may gain by the superior Cunning of my Generals, which answer no other Purpose than spinning out the War to a greater Length.

That, Sire, says *Luxembourg*, is not the Method I intend to take; your Enemies would be highly pleased at your proceeding in that Manner; the Prince of *Orange* and the Elector of *Bavaria* would be overjoyed at your hazarding a pitched Battle, as the Loss of one would ruin all the Conquests

quests you have heaped one upon another for so many Years, and tarnish all the Glory you have acquired. Remember what it cost *Francis* the First, and *St. Louis*, your Predecessors, for having exposed themselves too much.

Let me know your Meaning, said the King, Peace must be had one Way or other; for my People begin to murmur, and Money is become very scarce in the Kingdom: They say Foresight is the Mother of Wisdom; and I remember what it cost me in 1672, for having carried on the War a little too long.

Does your Majesty, said the General, absolutely desire Peace?

You know I do, said the King; the only Thing I aim at now, is to oblige my Enemies to sue for it.

Sire,

Sire, if that is the Case, this then is the Way to obtain it speedily; your Majesty must make *Flanders* the Theatre of War, the grand Push must be made there; you must endeavour to have three Armies on Foot there, to act in concert and assist each other, as Occasion offers. Each of these Armies must be composed of at least fifty thousand Men; and to this Purpose your Majesty must give Orders to Monsieur *Voisin*, Intendant of the Low Countries, to consult with the Commissaries of Stores, and make an exact Calculation what may be necessary for the Support of so many Troops, and to supply the Magazines, the principal of which must be at *Mons, Maubeuge, Phillipville* and *Dinant*; the Master of the Ordnance must also take Care that the Artillery and Ammunition be sent early to the Frontiers; the Count *Guiscard*, Governor of *Dinant*, must get

a Number of Boats ready; and Monsieur *Vertillac*, Governor of *Mons*, must also take Care to get a Number of Waggon's and other Carriages ready in *Hainault*: And he, and the other Governors must take an Account what Number of Pioneers we can have, which ought not to be less than twenty thousand; let all the Troops be early at the general Rendezvous, which must be at *Mons*, and your Majesty ought to send immediate Orders for their March; but the Soul of all is to obtain good Intelligence, cost what it will.

These Dispositions once taken, there is nothing but a Head required to set this great Body in Motion: And as the Presence of a King at the Head of his Army doubles its Number; as it inspires every Man in it with a double Portion of Courage, and fired with a Thirst of Glory, or flattered with the Hope of large Rewards,

wards, they face the greatest Dangers. I would therefore advise your Majesty to head your Army this Campaign, as you did at the Siege of *Mons*; for you see that important Place surrendered in less than a Fortnight, though the Enemies Army was in View, and the Severity of the Season was strongly against you. After such a Stroke as this, your Majesty has a Right to undertake the most difficult Task.

This is very well, said the King; but how shall we open the Campaign? shall it be by the Siege of *Aeth* or *Charleroi*? As they are the most advanced Places, I think we ought to begin by them.

No, says *Luxembourg*, you must attack your Enemies in a more sensible Part; *Aeth* and *Charleroi* will fall of Course into your Majesty's Hands.

How

How then must we begin, said the King,
shall we bombard *Brussels*?

No, Sire, 'tis not worth while; something of Consequence must be done; your Majesty must not head an Army to begin by Trifles.

What then, says the King, is *Ostend* to be attacked by Sea and Land? that would be a sensible Loss to my Enemies, because the *Englisk* Troops always land there; and from that Place we might penetrate into the Heart of *Flanders*?

No, Sire, 'tis not worth a King of *France's* while at the Head of an Army of one hundred and fifty thousand Men to amuse himself with the taking such a paltry Place as *Ostend*.

E

What

What then is your Intent? shall we march into the Country of *Leiga*, and oblige the Bishop to lay down his Arms, and submit himself to my Clemency?

Not that neither, Sire; such an Expedition is fitter for *Boufflers* than for your Majesty; an Undertaking fit for a King is to attack a Place hitherto accounted impregnable.—This then is the Case; your Majesty must put yourself, as I observed before, at the Head of your Army, divided into three Corps: The first commanded by your Majesty with Marshal *d'Humieres* under you; the second under the Command of *Boufflers*; and the third under my Direction. The Army being thus divided into three Bodies, *Boufflers* must be sent before with a Body of fifteen thousand Horse to occupy the Avenues and Passages; and the whole of the Army being arrived

arrived, your Majesty must lay Siege to *Namur*, and by the taking of so important a Place, you may become Master of the whole County, which is undoubtedly the finest of all the Low Countries.

This is a great Undertaking, said the King, and the Place seems to be impregnable by its Situation; besides, since the Building of *Fort William* it is almost inaccessible.

Sire, says *Luxembourg*, we must make Use of Art as well as Force, and join the Fox's Tail to the Lion's Skin. I know a Way to remove the greatest Part of the Difficulties that your Majesty apprehends; and this is the Case. There is a Major in the Citadel, whose Name is *Bersé*, a bold resolute Man, fit for any Undertaking; whose Prodigality and Love of Pleasure makes him extreamly fit for our Purpose.

This Man calls himself a Relation of Madam *de Maintenon's*; and this Hint may very easily be improved.

But how do you know, said the King, that he will undertake to serve me?

His excessive Love of Pleasure and Expence leaves us little Room to doubt of it. Your Majesty must intrust the Management of the Affair to Madam *de Maintenon*; and whilst we make Use of Bombs and Cannon, she may attack the Place with *Louis d'Ors*, which will do more in one Day than your Majesty's hundred and fifty thousand Men in a Month.

Ha! says the King, if the Case stands so, my dear *Maintenon*, I dare say, will not refuse to lend a helping Hand; but what must she promise to secure him on our Side?

She

She must promise him one hundred thousand Livres, and after the Reduction of the Place, make him a Lieutenant General; I dare say he will accept the Offer, and in less than a Week your Majesty will be fully convinced of it.

Well, let us suppose then, said the King, that he accepts this Proposal, how must he manage to favour our Enterprize?

Thus, says *Luxembourg*; he must take an exact Account of all the Provision and Ammunition in the Citadel, send a regular Plan of the Place, of the *Devil's House*, and of *Fort William*; and as he is Major of the Citadel, he must oppose as far as he can, without causing Suspicion, every Thing proposed by the Prince *de Barbanson*, whom we must also endeavour to bring

over to our Interest. He must inform your Majesty, or some of your Generals, of all the Designs, Marches and Countermarches of your Enemies : This he must do with the utmost Caution ; but take Care not to stir out of the Citadel, nor be a Moment absent from his Post, till such Time as we shall inform him we are ready to spring the Mine. Madam *Maintenon* must before inform him that when Things are got thus forward, he must get upon a Party when they intend to make a Sally, and suffer himself to be taken Prisoner, but in such a Manner, as it may be considered only as the Effect of his Imprudence.

'Tis a good Scheme, said the King.

Your Majesty having once got this Man in your Power, who will be able to inform you upon the Spot of every minute Circumstance,

cumstance, you will soon be able to take the Town.

If that's the Case, said the King, we shall have it as cheap as we got *Mons*; but the Prince of *Orange* is repassing the Sea to be here early; and as I am informed, will soon take the Field as well as we, with a very powerful Army; and joining the Elector of *Bavaria*, they may be able to dispute the Conquest of *Namur* with me; these two Princes are very warm, and my attacking them in so sensible a Part, they will not fail to use their utmost Efforts to oppose me.

I don't doubt it, said *Luxembourg*; but while we are playing this Farce here, we must prepare a Tragedy in *England* for the Prince of *Orange*. Your Majesty lately told me by Way of Secret, that King *James* had received Letters from many of

the Nobility, and chief Persons in that Kingdom, that there was also a Prince of the Blood and the Queen's Uncle that were concerned; besides which, a great Number of other Persons had unanimously espoused his Cause, to re-establish him upon the Throne, if your Majesty would but assist them, and make a Descent upon the Isle of *Wight* with eighteen or twenty thousand Men.

It's true, said the King; and I myself have read the Letters the Countess of *Marlborough* mentions in express Terms, that his *Britannick* Majesty need but land, and he will be received with open Arms by the People; that they are making Provision of Horses and Arms with all the Secrecy imaginable; that they are well provided with Money to pay the Troops, which are to be composed but of such who
are

are dissatisfied with the present Government.

Sire, says *Luxembourg*, if the Case is so, 'tis a Master Stroke; for the Prince of *Orange* must be obliged to repass the Sea with the utmost Haste to succour the three Kingdoms, and then your Majesty may strike the Blow without any Opposition. Your Majesty must order *Tourville* to get his Fleet ready to sail with all Expedition, and get a Number of Transports ready to land the Troops.

But, says the King, I would not have *Tourville* run the Hazard of a Battle; and I can perceive a great deal of Difficulty in this Enterprize without the Fleets coming to an Engagement; and the Consequence makes me very uneasy.

The Way is paved for a Revolution, says *Luxembourg*, and you must trust to Fortune: She has always been too good a Friend to your Majesty to forsake you upon this Occasion; you must order *Tourville* to attack the *Dutch*; and if he should beat them, as in all Probability he will, as they are not more invincible now than they were in 1690, the whole *English* Fleet will join him; and then being Masters of the Sea, the Descent may very easily be made.

The *English*, said the King, are like Cats, the more you stroke them the more they scratch; and if they should change their Minds at the instant of an Engagement, and join the *Dutch*, what must become of *Tourville*?

Away with that Notion, said *Luxembourg*, 'tis an idle Phantom; a Bird of ill Omen

Omen that troubles your Imagination; such a Thing has never happened to your Majesty, and you have much more Reason to expect a Victory than a Defeat.

Well, says the King, as this is your Opinion, and that you advise me to hazard a Battle, I shall give *Tourville* Orders accordingly; but as to the Affair of *Namur*, I scarce think one hundred and fifty thousand Men sufficient to undertake the Siege, and cover such a vast Extent of Ground.

Sire, says *Luxembourg*, the Days are over, when four or five hundred thousand Men were brought into the Field. We read in the History of the Kings of the first Race, that *Attila*, King of the *Huns*, took the Field with an Army of five hundred thousand Men, and called himself the Scourge of God: But notwithstanding this

this prodigious Number, he was overthrown by King *Meroüe*, and lost in one Battle two hundred thousand Men; 'tis not the Number that insures a Victory. An Army of fifty thousand Men, well commanded, will beat an Army of one hundred thousand, if once they fall into Disorder. I have often heard the great *Turenne*, and the late Prince of *Condé* say, that an Army that exceeds fifty thousand is troublesome to itself, and to its Commander: Besides, I have made a Calculation of the Forces of your Enemies, and suppose they were all joined, they do not amount to one hundred thousand; so that your Majesty having fifty thousand more than they, you are not only able to undertake the Siege, but to observe their Motions also.

But, says the King, you have supposed that the Prince of *Orange* will be obliged
to

to return to *England*, and consequently leave the Enemy deprived of their Support; for this Prince being no longer at their Head, they must remain inactive; this is viewing the right Side of the Medal; but turn the Reverse, and suppose he remains at the Head of his Army: As he seeks an Opportunity of signalizing himself, and giving me Battle; when he sees me engaged in a Siege of such Consequence, if he should take it in his Head to attack me, if I should be beat, and obliged to raise the Siege, what Shame and Confusion must I not feel, as I always boasted I was as invincible as *Achilles*! Your Majesty need have no Apprehension of that Kind, I'll shew you a Plan of the Ground, of the Avenues and Defiles that cover the Place; that when your Majesty's Army of one hundred and fifty thousand Men shall have once taken the Town, the Prince of *Orange* will not be able to attack you, even

even with an Army of two hundred thousand, without running the Hazard of being beat; your Majesty must encamp between the *Sambre* and the *Maese*; and besides, your being covered by these two Rivers, *Boufflers's* Army on the Right will cover you on that Side; as to the other Part of your Army which I shall command, I shall be Master of all that Space, which lies between *Namur* and the *Me-baigne*, which is the only Place by which the Enemy can make an Attack, if they should be inclined to make one. Besides many Advantages which I may draw from the Situation of the Country, which is intersected by Woods and Defiles, a small River is sufficient to stop them; the *Me-baigne* or *Orme* will always be sufficient to stop their Progress, so that your Majesty has nothing to apprehend; you'll have no more to fear than if you were at *Ver-sailles* with Madam *Maintenon*. But at least,

least, says the King, you must promise me to avoid an Engagement as much as possible; and to encamp to such Advantage, that the Prince of *Orange* may not dare to force you. I am very apprehensive of a Battle; for if I should happen to lose it, it would make an irreparable Breach in my Honour.

In regard to that, says *Luxembourg*, your Majesty may sleep in Quiet; give your Orders only, that every Thing may be got ready, and the Troops assembled early, especially those from *Catalonia*, *Savoy*, and *Germany*, which are Places at a great Distance. As to the Event I answer for it, being fully persuaded that this Conquest will be as cheap as that of *Mons*; and that your Majesty will not only reap great Advantages from it, but that it will pave the Way to a lasting Peace, which I wish your Majesty with all my Heart.

As

As soon as *Luxembourg* was gone, the King ordered Marshal *Catinat* to be called in, and desired to be informed in few Words upon what Footing Things were in *Savoy*.

Sire, says *Catinat*, I sufficiently informed your Majesty by my Letters of the State of the War in *Italy*, and the Care I took to do my Duty at the Head of the Army, your Majesty was pleased to intrust to my Care ; that if I had not all the Success I could have wished the last Campaign, I did all that lay in my Power with the few Troops I had ; but the Elector of *Bavaria*'s coming spoiled all, by the great Number of *Germans* he brought with him, which, joined to the Troops of *Spain* and *Savoy*, formed an Army superior to mine by half ; this Inequality of Forces stopped the happy Progress I had made at
the

the Beginning of the Campaign: notwithstanding, without being in the least disconcerted, I made all the necessary Movements to cover the Country, keep the Passages, and avoid a general Engagement, which they endeavoured to draw me into, as your Majesty had expressly forbid me to venture one; and it was happy for me I had *Germans* to deal with, who gave me Time to entrench myself, and occupy all the Posts, after I had left four or five thousand Men in *Carmaniolle*, and guarded all the Passages about *Suza*. As to the Check your Majesty's Arms received at the Siege of *Coni*, which Monsieur *Bulonde* was imprudent enough to quit after he had opened the Trenches; it was sufficiently counterbalanced by the little Progress the Imperialists made: For, besides their coming late into the Field, the Misunderstanding amongst their Generals broke all their Measures; their only Success was the taking

taking of *Carmaniole*. The Extract of their Council of War, which I informed your Majesty of, was of infinite Use to me: I also made Use of a *German* Friar, by whose Means my Letters came safe to Hand; they were brought by one *Jenety*, a *Savoyard*, who fetched them from the Trunk of an old Tree, where the Friar left them for him.

By this Means I was informed that in their Councils of War, at which the Elector of *Bavaria* and the Duke of *Savoy* presided, that the Count *de Schomberg*, who was to head the *Hugonots* and *Barbets*, made the following Proposal:

“To make an Irruption into *Dauphin* and *Provence*; that they were to enter the former by the Valley of *Keiras*; that being once Masters of the Castle, they might easily take the little Town of *Guillestre*;
and

that within three Leagues of that Place, by following the Course of the River *Durance*, they must soon become Masters of the Town of *Ambrun*, which is an Archbishop's See; and being once possessed of some advantageous Places in the Province, they should not fail of striking a Terror throughout the whole Country; and as it is extreamly loaded with Taxes, and much oppressed by the frequent Passage of your Majesty's Troops, it was natural to suppose they would take up Arms to remove the Grievances they laboured under; that the Number of new Catholicks would be forward in the Revolt; and he was of Opinion there was no Time to lose, as the Season was already too far advanced. That the Places they should leave behind them occupied by the *French*, ought to give them no Manner of Concern, as they had nothing to do but to leave a good Army upon the Frontiers to guard *Piedmont*,
 make

make Head against *Catinat*, and bridle the
Garrisons of *Cazal* and *Pignerol*."

I own to your Majesty that this Project gave me some Uneasiness, and that they would be able to gain some Advantages, because in fact, according to the Rules of War, and the true Interest of the Duke of *Savoy* and his Allies, they would by this Method have cut out a great deal of Work for your Majesty, and I should have been incapable to oppose them; because I should in that Case have been obliged to divide my Troops, which were already too few.

But to return to *Schemberg*, who had taken the Resolution I have just informed your Majesty of; Count *Caraffa*, who commanded the Imperialists, gave his Opinion in these Terms: "It was true that this was a well concerted Scheme, but appeared to him rather too bold; that to venture upon
entering

entering an Enemy's Country, force an Army which guarded the Passages and was well entrenched ; that Winter, which was approaching, forbid the hazarding into a Country not very well known ; that the Army must be extreamly harrassed by following this Advice ; that the whole Affair was not only the entering an Enemy's Country, but a safe Retreat must also be thought of ; that he did not see how the Project could be carried into Execution, so long as the Enemy remained Masters of several Places on the Frontiers which commanded *Savoy*, and by Means of which they might at any Time lay all *Piedmont* under Contribution, if there was not always an Army ready at Hand to cover it. That for his Part he could not be of *Schomberg's* Opinion ; that he did not remember that ever *Alexander* or *Cæsar*, who were as great Generals as any since their Times, had ever attempted any Thing of the

the Kind during the Course of their War, that he conceived the best Thing they could do was to begin by the Siege of *Carmaniolle*; and that after the Reduction of that Place, they should think of getting good Winter Quarters amongst the *Italian* Princes; that the Imperial Troops must be fatigued after the Siege, and fit for nothing but to go into Quarters."

The Count of *Schomberg*, who had the Prince of *Orange's* Interest at Heart, who had sent him into *Savoy* to head the *Huguenots*, could not bear with any Degree of Patience what *Caraffa* had said; and though he was of a very mild Temper, he could not prevail upon himself to be silent, especially as he had had his Hands tied behind him a long Time. Besides, he could not conceive that a whole Campaign should be employed in the Siege of so inconsiderable a Place as *Carmaniolle*, and neglect

neglect the finest Opportunity that had ever offered of penetrating into *France*.

He then told *Caraffa*, "That he was too old in the Art of War not to have a perfect Knowledge of the Situation of the Country, of the Roads, Woods, Marshes, Defiles, Mountains and Rivers, and of every Avenue which led into *Dauphine*; that to this Knowledge he had added that of having studied from his Infancy the Genius, Manners, Interests, the Strength and Weakness of the *French*; that he knew all their ruling Passions, as he was bred among them; that a General who understood his Trade ought to be acquainted with all these Things: That if it was necessary to support his Opinion by the Example of the greatest Commanders, he was able to prove that *Alexander*, *Cæsar*, *Charles* the Vth, *Turenne*, *Conde*, and an infinite Number of others had practised this Method;

that

that there was no Temerity in his Plan, but was still convinced it was a good one, notwithstanding what *Caraffa* had insinuated to the contrary ;” then putting his Hand in his Pocket, he drew out some Papers ; the first was a circular Letter, in Form of a Manifesto, which was to be dispersed upon their entering the Country, to excite the People to join the Allies : it was conceived in these Terms.

“ That all the Inhabitants of higher and lower *Dauphine* were exhorted to join the Arms of his *Britannick* Majesty and those of his Royal Highness the Duke of *Savoy*, who were come with a powerful Army to their Succour, and assist them in shaking off the Yoke they had so long groaned under ; that the old Catholicks as well as the new, without Distinction of Religion, were equally invited to partake of the Blessings the Princes in Alliance were come to bestow

bestow on them. That God had on many Occasions shewn himself their Protector; and there was no doubt would crown their Undertaking with Success, and enable them to relieve *France* from Oppression; that no Alteration should be made in Religion, but a free Liberty of Conscience should be granted to all, equal to that they enjoyed under *Henry* the IVth and *Lewis* the XIIIth; that they would remit all Debts due to the Crown; and in fine, would maintain all the Clergy in the Livings they were possessed of; Gentlemen in their Estates, and Merchants in their Commerce, Magistrates in their Authority, and restore the People to their Liberty. They should live under a mild, an easy Government, different from the Tyranny they had so long groaned under; they should be relieved from their grievous Taxes, and become from wretched Slaves a free and flourishing People.

F

After

After the reading of this Manifesto, he produced many Letters, which had been wrote to him by some of the most considerable Noblesse of *Dauphine*, some of which were read in the Order following.

Copy of a Letter from Dauphiné to Count Schomberg, now in Piedmont.

S I R,

I Write to you with Tears of Joy, which have succeeded those of Grief, which your happy Arrival in *Savoy* has intirely removed, being in Hopes that your Presence will forward the good Intentions of his Royal Highness, in contributing to our Repose, and deliver us from a spiritual Tyranny, which we have long groaned under. You heard our Complaints when you were in *Brandenbourg*; but the Time was not yet come, when you were to restore our *Sion* to its antient Splendor and

Tran-

Tranquility. We beseech God to take you into his holy Protection, and bless all your good Intentions; you can hardly conceive the Affection this whole Province has for you; every Thing appears favourable, provided you use Expedition; and that you in this Case imitate the *French*, who look upon every Moment as precious, when a great Undertaking is in Hand. I engage my Word and Honour, that if you once enter this Country, the Rising will be general; the Fear I am in of this being intercepted does not permit me to be so particular as I might be, but you may depend upon these Hints; let me know the Time and Place, and be assured I am without Reserve,

S I R,

Your's, &c.

Mr. *Julien* will acquaint you with my Name and my Direction.

To the same.

S I R,

WE are under the greatest Concern imaginable, to hear that the Design you had propos'd to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Duke of *Savoy* to enter *Dauphine* by the Valley of *Keiras*, has not been received as you expected, and as we wish'd. We earnestly intreat you (and our Number will surprize you, were I to mention it, which, for particular Reasons, I hope you'll excuse) to renew your Solicitations to their Highnesses, and to Count *Caraffa*, and endeavour to convince them of the Consequence of entering *Dauphin* this Campaign, and seize the Opportunity of the defenceless Situation of the Towns, and the good Disposition the People are in, which must insure Success, if you march immediately to *Grenoble*; if this is neglected, I foresee the Allies will too late repent

repent their not having penetrated into the Heart of *France*. We have wrote several Letters upon this Subject to Messieurs *Monbrun* and *Montauban*, which we have desired them to communicate to you.

I am,

S I R,

Your's, &c.

Count *Caraffa* seeing that *Schomberg* supported his Opinion by such strong Proofs, and observing that the Elector of *Bavaria*, the Duke of *Savoy*, Prince *Eugene*, the Duke of *Leganez*, Count *Palsi*, and the Marquiss *de Pianeste*, who were all present, seemed to be of his Way of thinking, rose up, and quitting the Council, protested he would not give his Consent; they might resolve as they pleased, but for his Part, he knew what he had to do; and that the Imperial Troops which he commanded

in chief should not move but as he thought proper; that he knew the Emperor's Sentiments upon that Head, and it was but losing Time to deliberate any further about it.

This Behaviour, which they did not expect, surprized the other Generals; but the Count *de Schomberg* especially complained loudly of it; and declared he had so little Reason to be satisfied at the Management of the War in *Italy*, that he was resolved to return to *Holland* or *Brandenbourg*, where he had before commanded the Troops of his Royal Highness the Elector of *Brandenbourg*. The Elector of *Bavaria* was likewise much chagrined: after having traversed *Germany* and *Italy* by long Marches to come into *Piedmont*, where he seemed to be expected with the utmost Impatience, which he had done, though he had been taken ill of a Fever, and

many

many other Inconveniencies which he had undergone during that long March, in Expectation of gathering fresh Laurels at his Arrival; but he was obliged to content himself like the rest, with the bare Idea they had formed of a glorious Campaign.

The Duke of *Savoy* was the only one who lost most by these Divisions, and was more immediately concerned than any of the others; but as he wanted the Experience of the other Generals, he found he had not Power sufficient to enforce the Scheme proposed by Count *Schoenberg*. Besides, he looked upon it as the only Method by which he could annoy his Enemies, and to free his own Country from the intolerable Load of his Auxiliaries, who must, according to him, rejoice at taking Winter Quarters in an Enemy's Country; but the bitter Cup which Count *Caraffa*

could not let down was quite another Thing. He found *Italy* a Land flowing with Milk and Honey, but in *Dauphine* he conceived nothing but a barren Country, and a People already ruined by War, which was more than sufficient to make him oppose their Designs.

Prince *Eugene* was of the same Way of thinking, as the Duke his Cousin; their Interests were the same, and that united them in Opinion. He said he could not conceive that Obstinacy was capable of producing so much Disorder, and that Princes were happy when they had but their own Subjects to command, for that Victory was generally the Consequence of Unanimity. That during the three Years which the War had lasted in *Italy*, Discord had been more fatal than the Enemy: That if those Disputes subsisted any longer, and whole Campaigns were spent in deli-

deliberating instead of coming to Action, it was throwing the Game into the Hand of the *French*, and is what *France* ardently wishes; because that drawing us insensibly into the Winter Season, which is to her the Mother of Negotiations, she would have new Cause to exult, and would certainly improve those Advantages.

The Duke of *Leganex*, Governor of the *Milaneze*, was quite the *Spaniard*; a plain good Man: He was of every Body's Notion, and would have embraced the first or second Resolution, or both together if it was possible. This poor Man having no Opinion of his own, followed the Stream, and the Resolution they had taken suited him as well as the *Italian* States; and if Count *Caraffa* had unluckily been brought into the Scheme, the Thing was over: but, as I have already hinted to

your Majesty, I had sent a Quantity of *Louis d'Or's* to solicit his Friendship.

The Count *Palfi*, who was a good German and very brave, and the Marquis *de Pianese* were both of *Schomberg's* Opinion, and consented to the Negative, but with much Regret. The Advice then being opposed by *Caraffa*, as I have related, who had the Command of the Imperialists, in whom consisted the Strength of their Army, he obliged all the other Generals in Spite of them to come into his Measures; and as they could not do otherwise, they at length agreed to open the Campaign by the Siege of *Carmaniolla*, which they took after a brave Resistance.

After this Conquest, nothing was talked of for the rest of the Campaign; *Caraffa* kept his Word very faithfully, and would hearken to nothing but Winter Quarters;

so that lending a helping Hand, he began to treat with the *Italian* Princes about Contribution ; so that they found themselves more embarrassed than if they had an Enemy to deal with, and found the best Way to preserve their Country was to pay the large Sums that were demanded ; the Republic of *Genoa*, and the Dukes of *Mantua* and *Modena* will not easily forget the *Germans* coming into *Italy* ; and the other States will also have sufficient Cause to remember them.

But to cut short ; as the Time of your Majesty's striking a great Blow approaches, I shall only add to to what I have been saying concerning the Affairs of *Italy* ; that I thought proper, as the *German* Troops were dispersed all over *Italy*, to lay Siege to *Monmellian* ; and by taking that important Fortress, secure the Conquests it had pleased God to bless your Majesty's Arms
with

with in *Savoy*, I undertook the Siege in the dead of Winter, and had many other Obstacles to labour against, which seemed to make such an Undertaking extremely difficult. I was several Times obliged to abandon it; but as your Majesty had expressly ordered me to risque every Thing, I at last reduced it to your Majesty's Obedience in much less Time than I expected.

Catinat, said the King, give me your Opinion; I have formed a grand Design in *Flanders*, which I intend to put in Execution in a few Weeks, and for that Purpose shall want an Army of one hundred and fifty thousand Men; but as the Troops in *Brabant* and *Germany* are not sufficient to make up that Number, may I dispose of fifteen or sixteen thousand of those Troops under your Command in *Savoy*? As you are the only one of all my Generals best acquainted with *Italy*, the Duke of *Savoy's* Designs,

Designs, and the Genius of the *Italians*, as you travelled according to my Directions all over that Country in a Friar's Habit, as I foresaw you would one Day be able to do me more important Services there; and as it was you who bought the Town of *Cazal*, and paid the Duke of *Mantua* the Money I had agreed on for it; answer me, do you think I can with Safety withdraw so many Troops; and can you be able to make Head against the *Germans* during this Campaign, with an Army of nine or ten thousand Men?

Sire, says *Catinar*, your Majesty's Province of *Dauphine*, which was the most exposed of any in your Kingdom, and through which your Enemies flattered themselves they should be able to enter your Kingdom, has nothing to fear since the taking of *Monmellian*. That Place, as well as *Pignerol*, *Suza*, and *Nice*, on the
Side

Side of *Provence*, secures us from any Apprehension of Danger.

But suppose the worst, said the King; should the Duke of *Savoy* take Advantage of my Weakness on that Side, and force his Way into my Kingdom, and then be joined by *Schomberg* at the Head of the *Barbets* and *Huguenots*; they would no doubt lay the whole Country under Contribution; for I shall frankly own to you, that I dread those cursed *Barbets*; and should they be joined by the new Converts, which is not improbable, they would form a very powerful Army, and cut out Work sufficient for me in *Dauphine*; for I do not look upon that Province to be well affected; and if this Barrier should once be forced, what should hinder them to advance into the *Lionnois* and *Baujellois*, it being an open Country, and do me more

Harm

Harm in one Campaign than I have done them during the whole War.

Sire, says *Catinat*, your Majesty need not be uneasy upon that Head; let that be no Hindrance to your grand Undertaking; I shall take Care of *Dauphine*: rely upon me, as you have hitherto done, and at the Peril of my Life I promise to keep all quiet there. You may be mistaken, replied the King; such a Resolution may soon be taken, and easily executed.

I again, says *Catinat*, repeat it to your Majesty, fear nothing; I promise upon the Word of an honest Man that your Enemies shall undertake nothing on that Side; I shall take Care to sow Dissention amongst their Generals, which will always obstruct every Attempt of that Kind.

I wish you may, said the King ; for if I thought otherwise, I had rather remain upon the defensive the whole Campaign, and wait for Winter to form some Siege, rather than suffer my Enemies to attempt any Thing on that Side which might tarnish my Glory ; and that a little Duke of *Savoy*, whom I have treated but as one of my Pages, should have Cause to triumph at having encamped at the Gates of *Grenoble* ; I believe I should die with Shame if it should happen.

Once more, says *Catinat*, I shall venture to affirm that your Majesty has nothing to apprehend, either from the Duke of *Savoy* or the *Barbets*. You have been pleased to intrust me not only with the Command of your Army, but also with a Golden Key, with which I am able to discover their most secret Councils ; and if the Lion's Skin should

should fail, I have always the Fox's Tail, with which I can stop the Enterprizes of both *Savoyards* and *Germans*. I shall add, that as they seldom take the Field till your Majesty's Troops have done their Business, it will always be Time enough in Case it should be found necessary to form a greater Army, and oppose their Designs: Besides, I shall manage the nine or ten thousand Men under my Command to the best Advantage, and shall order *Messieurs la Rai, Bachevelliers, and de Vins* to cover *Provence* in such a Manner, that we shall have nothing to fear,

His Majesty being sufficiently informed of the Affairs of *Piedmont*, fell upon those of *Catalonia*, and told *Catinat* that he had not thought proper to call *Monsieur de Noailles* to that Council, because he had nothing to apprehend from the *Spaniards* but some vain Boastings; for that the Duke
de

de Villbarmosa, their General, was more intent upon telling his Beads than upon the Art of War; and that besides *Noailles* was fitter to inspect the Affairs of the late *Mademoiselle de Fontange*, which Office he had undertaken in her Life-time, than to command an Army; and that he had given him the Government of *Languedoc* in trust, till one of the three young Princes, his Grandsons, should be fit to undertake it. He had also offered him the Command of the Army in *Catalonia*, on account of his being well acquainted with the Manners and Language of the *Spaniards*; that there was so few Troops there, any Body might command; that not above three thousand of those out of eight could be depended on, the other five must remain there to act against the *Miquelets*.

His Majesty added, that it was true he had received Intelligence by his Spies at
the

the Court of *Spain*, that his Catholick Majesty was arming a Fleet of fourteen or fifteen Men of War, which were to be commanded with the Gallies by Admiral *Papichini*, and cruize in the *Mediterranean*, as soon as Count *d'Etrees* should have quitted those Seas; and that they were to make a Shew of attempting something upon the Coast of *Provence*, to favour the Duke of *Savoy*; but he gave little Faith to this Rumour, and was bold to say, that as they had attempted nothing of that Kind the two last Campaigns, it was a manifest Proof of their Inability, and consequently he thought there was nothing to apprehend.

From the Affairs of *Catalonia*, his Majesty came to those of *Germany*, and ordered, as soon as *Catinat* had quitted the Room, that Marshal *de Lorges* should be called in, who had the Command of the
Army

Army upon the *Rhine*: *de Lorges*, said he, tell me in what Condition you left my Troops.

Sire, says *de Lorges*, your Army upon the *Rhine* has greatly suffered by Sickneſs the whole Campaign, and is greatly weakened by the Death of ſeveral brave Officers and Soldiers, without mentioning Deſertion, which has been very conſiderable, in Spite of all my Endeavours to prevent it; notwithstanding, by the Care of the Marquis *d'Uxelles*, Monsieur *Melac* and I, the Army is in much better Condition than it has been. We have given the Troops good Winter Quarters, which has greatly reſreſhed them, and has put a Stop to the Sickneſs that reigned amongſt them; after which we laboured to raiſe Recruits ſufficient to complete the Regiments, which we effected by Means of Money, which in that Country may be conſidered as the
first

first Mover of all Things. Gold is adored, and by Means of it your Majesty need never want Soldiers.

The King seeing Monsieur *Melac*, who had followed the Marshal, addressed himself to him; *Melac*, said he, have you brought a List of the Villages you have burnt in *Germany*, especially in the *Palatinate*, and along the *Rhine*?

No, says *Melac*; but if your Majesty desires it, I shall do it immediately.

You'll do me a Pleasure, says the King, and observe at the same Time to take Notice of those that are yet unburnt.

After which his Majesty addressed himself to the Marquis *d'Uxelles*, who had likewise followed the Marshal:

D'Uxelles,

D'Uxelles, said he, I am not quite satisfied with the Manner in which you live; and I have heard some Things disadvantageous to your Reputation. I am informed you daily join in the Duke of *Vendosme's* Debauches; as to the rest, I am satisfied with your Services, and have given you sufficient Proofs of my being so, by the Post of Lieutenant General I have conferred upon you, as a Reward for the brave Defence you made at *Mentz* during seven Weeks, against an Army of one hundred thousand Men, commanded by the Duke of *Lorraine*, and all the Electors of the Empire.

Sire, says the Marquis, I see I have many Enemies at Court; but I beg your Majesty may be persuaded that these Reports have taken their Rise from the Jealousy of some Generals, whose Names I shall mention to clear myself, whenever
your

your Majesty shall please to order me so to do.

Time is too short, said the King, for the Discussion of this Affair; greater Things call me to *Flanders*, so shall postpone the Enquiry till after the Campaign.

After which his Majesty turned to the Marshal *de Lorges*; *de Lorges*, said he, I have called you to assist at this Council of War, to acquaint you with a grand Design. I have resolved to march into *Flanders*, at the Head of an Army of one hundred and fifty thousand Men; Time presses, and the Affair is of the utmost Importance; so I shall stand in Need of all my Forces. I have already ordered all my regular Troops, except nine thousand from *Italy*; because, according to *Catinat's* Opinion, I have nothing to fear on that Side. I have besides ordered *Noailles* to

to send me a Detachment of three thousand of his best Troops, who are to make long Marches to get early to the Rendezvous. The Case is now to know the Number of my Forces in *Germany*, what you can spare me, and how many will be sufficient to cover my Conquests on that Side.

Sire, says the Marshal, your Army in *Germany* may be about fifty thousand strong, including the Garrisons of *Strasbourg*, *Philipbourg*, and a few other Towns; so that I think your Majesty may depend upon about twenty or twenty-five thousand Men: out of the remaining twenty-five thousand, I shall employ about ten thousand, to form an Army of Observation, and the rest shall be employed in the Defence of the Frontier Towns.

May not the Enemy, said the King, under these Circumstances, take Advantage

of your Weakness, and attempt the Siege of *Philipsbourg*, *Landau*, or *Mont-royal*, which the late Duke of *Lorraine* looked upon as of the utmost Consequence to him, and which he resolved to have at any Price. And might they not by this Means oblige me to lay aside the grand Enterprize ? which, as Victory has hitherto followed my Arms, would be a mortal Blow to my Reputation.

There is little Fear of that, said the Marshal ; the *Germans* are not remarkable for Expedition ; and your Majesty has conquered more for them now in three Minutes, than they will be able to do in three Campaigns ; they love Rest and good Cheer too well to be prevailed on to quit their Winter Quarters so early as the Month of *May*.

But pray, said the King, let me know how you managed Matters last Campaign ;

for I am informed their Army was very strong.

That Campaign, said the Marshal, was spent like the former, in disputing the Ground; but as the confederate Army commanded by the late Elector of Saxony took the Field very late, which is an Error the *Germans* constantly run into, your Majesty's Army had the Start of them by two Months; and after I had consumed all their Forage, according to your Majesty's Orders to keep upon the Defensive, I re-passed the *Rhine* at the Approach of the Enemy's Army. The Elector of Saxony made a Feint to follow me; but as he was not so well provided with Materials to build a Bridge as I was, I got safe on the other Side before he could get Things in order to follow me, and posted my Army in the most advantageous Manner, in order to receive him in Case he should attempt

it. The Marquis *d'Uxelles* commanded a flying Camp, and by many Marches and Countermarches, not only covered the Country but deceived the Enemy. And Monsieur *Melac* opened the Campaign, by laying about 30 Villages in Ashes; and as he is the best Incendiary in Europe, he has Reason to expect a Marshal's Staff by Way of Recompence.

Then how were the Elector of Saxony's Designs answered, said the King?

Sire, said the Marshal, that Elector is a very good Prince, fond of War, but much more so of Pleasure and good Living; as brave as any Man, but as he had not the absolute Command, I had found the Means of dividing their Councils, and always was acquainted by Means of my Spies, with every Resolution they took; for St. Louis d'Or is a great Saint in Germany as well as

in *France*. I speak as to Particulars; for in general every Nation has its *Scævola's*, who had rather die a thousand Deaths than betray their Country.

But to come back to my Purpose; Diffention began, and Sickness compleated the Ruin of their Army; which for want of proper Magazines, was at the Eve of being reduced to the greatest Extremities. The Elector himself bore a Part of the Evils which began to afflict his Army; and being taken ill of a Dyfentery, was obliged to be carried to *Franckfort*, where he died soon after, which put an End to the Projects of the allied Army for that Campaign.

But *de Lorges*, said the King, that may not be the Case now; the Allies may see their Error, and open their Eyes to their true Interests; and as they have now the

Prince

Prince of *Orange*, who is an enterprizing Man, at their Head, and are forty or fifty thousand strong; if they should pass the *Rhine* and force you, you must be strangely perplexed, having but ten thousand Men to oppose them; and should I lose a Battle, I should lose the brightest Jewel of my Crown, and Fortune would bid me eternally adieu: beside which, the *Turk* my Ally, whose Hopes I still flattered by my Success upon the *Rhine*, would probably desert me, and make a separate Peace with the Emperor our common Enemy; and in that Case I should find myself strangely puzzled.

These, said *de Lorges*, are imaginary Evils; the Picture you have drawn of the present State of *Germany* bears no Likeness. To be convinced of this, you need but reflect what they have done from the Beginning of the War to this Time; for

in three Campaigns they have not been able to gain an Inch of Ground: And if the Duke of *Lorraine*, whom they justly called the *Turenne* of *Germany*, had not been indefatigable in animating and uniting the Electors to support the Glory of the Empire, it would have been all over with them; for by the Union which he effected, they were enabled to lay Siege to *Mentz*, *Bonn*, and *Keyserswart*, of which they became Masters; but the Zeal which animated them cooled by degrees, and died away with him who had caused it. But should your Majesty be desirous to know what they are capable of undertaking on that Side, you need but follow the Course of the *Rhine* from the *Palatinate* to *Cologne*, and to what a Condition the States of the Empire are reduced since the breaking of the Truce.

Let

Let us begin then by the *Palatinate*. I think your Majesty has nothing to apprehend on that Side; for nothing is to be seen there but the melancholy Remains of what has escaped the Fury of the Soldiers, and consequently more an Object of Pity than of Dread. As to the Elector, he is a very brave Man, and might be formidable if he had Power. Let us next turn our Eyes to the Elector of *Mentz*; we cannot expect that he should head their Army; for besides that, War is not his Trade; I dare say he would not willingly change his Crozier for a Marshal's Staff; for by his meddling in the last War, he became a Prince without Territory, an Archbishop without a Diocese, and a Shepherd without a Flock; and would have continued so to this Time, had not the late Duke of *Lorraine* and the Allies taken up Arms in his Favour. As to the Elector of *Triers*,

though a brave Prince, he will never think of engaging; he is already unhappy enough, by the intire Desolation of his Country during the first Heat of the War, his Capital razed to the Ground, the Castle where he resided canonaded, and *Coblentz* by a Shower of Bombs reduced to Ashes.

As to the Bishop of *Munster*, the two first Campaigns have so reduced him, the Allies can by no Means depend upon him, so that he is entirely incapable of obstructing your Majesty's Views.

The Elector of *Cologne* cannot intermeddle, as his Country was the Seat of War, during the Dispute between the Cardinal *de Furstemberg* and Prince *Joseph Clement* of *Bavaria*; so that this Diocese stands in Need of much Rest, to repair its wasted Strength, and recover its antient Liberty.

From

From the Borders of the *Rhine*, let us penetrate into the Heart of *Germany*, and see if we can find some new *Cesar*, who shall attempt to carry the *German* Glory as far as the old did that of the *Romans*; I mean a bold enterprizing Prince who should put himself at the Head of the Troops of the Empire, and animate them by his Presence. There is but the Elector of *Saxony*, who has just succeeded his Father, and who seems to have entered into the Views of the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, by his having married the Princess of *Anspach* his Cousin. He will probably remain at home, and give the Command of his Troops to Monsieur *Schoning*, our good Friend, who was heretofore in the Service of *Brandenbourg*, but has now happily received the Command of the *Saxon* Army; so that your Majesty has nothing to fear on that Side neither.

But you said nothing, said the King, of the Electors of *Brandenbourg* and *Bavaria*, nor of the Princes of the House of *Hanover*.

Sire, says *de Lorges*, I shall say nothing of those Princes, as they seem to be more intent upon the War in *Flanders* than that of *Germany*; and intend, in my Opinion, to strike a bold Stroke in that Country this Campaign. I shall therefore leave that Part of the War to be spoke to by Monsieur *Luxembourg*, and meddle with nothing but the Affairs of the *Rhine*; yet if your Majesty desires it, I shall give my Opinion freely, and add to what has already been said of the Princes of the Empire, that no-body doubts of the Elector of *Bavaria's* being a brave Prince, and perhaps one of the bravest in the Empire, having given sufficient Proofs of it in *Hun-*
gary,

gary, where, though then very young, he performed Things worthy to be ranked with the Actions of the greatest Generals. I must add, that in the Campaign of 1689, where he commanded, jointly with the late Elector of Saxony, the Army of the Confederates on the *Rhine*, the Dauphin, to whom your Majesty had given the chief Command of your Army, was obliged to put all the Stratagems of War in Use to avoid coming to an Engagement, whilst the Duke of *Bavaria*, who was his Brother-in-law, put every Art in Practice to bring on a general Battle. So true it is, that Hatred becomes the greater, when it breaks out between Friends or Relations.

But the want of Generals by the Death of two of the greatest Commanders of the Age, *Lorraine* and *Schomberg*, and the Difficulties you laid them under by the Success of your Arms in *Flanders*, *Savoy*, *Catalonia*,

talonia, and upon the *Rhine*, were the Cause of his going to Command in *Italy*, and from thence in *Flanders*, where he now remains. It were to be wished for their Cause, that his Electoral Highness was a little more circumspect in the Choice of his Domesticks, more especially the Musicians, who found the Way into his Chapel in the Habit of Priests or Monks, to have an Opportunity of discovering his Secrets to his Enemies, which is the greatest Misfortune that can happen to a General, and which he ought to avoid with the utmost Care, as it must infallibly overthrow the best laid Schemes. This is the Failing of the Allies, and is the Means by which your Majesty has been able to obtain so many Victories. By what I have said, your Majesty may conclude that the Elector of *Bavaria* will find so much Work cut out for him elsewhere, that he will hardly think

think of commanding the Army upon the
Rhine.

But, said the King, may not the Elector of *Brandenbourg* take that Command? for I am informed he is to make the Campaign, though I cannot learn where.

Sire, said *de Lorges*, I have already told your Majesty; and I repeat it once more, that all this cannot stop the Course of your Enterprizes; the Elector of *Brandenbourg* is too much linked to the Prince of *Orange* to leave *Brabant*; these two Princes are inseparable, and will lend each other a helping Hand to support their mutual Interests. I need not enlarge upon this Subject, the Event of the Revolution in *England* puts it past all doubt; for the Elector was the only Prince in *Germany* acquainted with that Design, which he favoured with
all

all his Troops, and even made him an Offer of *Schomberg* to command them.

During the Time the War continued in *Flanders*, and whilst the Prince of *Orange* was employed in the Reduction of *Ireland*, the Elector made it his particular Study to act in Concert with the Prince of *Walldeck*; and he never made any Attempt to march up the *Rhine*, but remained with his Troops, who are chiefly employed in the Service of the States General in *Flanders*. And I must here observe, that your Majesty had a great Loss in the Death of the late Elector his Father, for he was easy of Access and unsuspecting; so that your Majesty's Ministers found it no difficult Task to get at his Secrets; and Monsieur *Rabenak* made a sufficient Advantage of it: but the Case is now altered; for the Death of the Electress has intirely barred the Gates of Intelligence there; so that to

unbas

unbar them, it will be necessary to implore the Aid of St. *Louis d'Or*, who will not fail to work a miracle here, as he has done in all the other Courts of *Europe*.

Now you are upon the Subject of Intelligence, said the King, I am under a good deal of Concern at the Information I have just received of poor General *Schoning* being arrested by Order of the Emperor, and conducted to *Spielberg* in *Moravia*, where he is condemned to perpetual Imprisonment. This is the more afflicting to me, because my best Intelligence from *Germany* came by him: He was in short a second *Furstemberg*, and I shall never forget the Obligations I lie under to him. The Siege of *Bonn*, which he found Means to protract during a Bombardment of five Months, was of infinite Service to me, by giving me an Opportunity of amusing the Elec-

tor

tor of *Brandenbourg* during the whole Campaign.

Sire, said *de Lorges*, your Majesty need never want Spies, provided you reward them liberally; Money will always tempt them to run the greatest Hazards; and if your Enemies were to practice this Method a little more, your Majesty would not have gained so many Conquests; but their Frugality on this Head has contributed more to your Success than all your Armies: A Secret bought is worth a Battle gained; and a Governor bribed is the taking of a Town; so that your Majesty must pursue the Plan laid down by *Richelieu* and *Mazarine*, to arrive at universal Monarchy.

As you mention Monarchy, said the King, let me know what you think of the Princes of the House of *Hanover*, and let

us make an end of the Affairs of *Germany*,
by speaking of the Head of the Empire.

In regard to the Princes of the House of *Hanover*, said *de Lorges*, your Majesty has not had hitherto any cause to complain of them; they love Tranquility too well to apprehend they should head the *Germans*, and rashly venture to pass the *Rhine*, and run the Hazard of a Battle. As to their Troops, which are the best in *Europe*, the Prince of *Orange* has found means to engage them in his Service, by obliging the Emperor to add a ninth Electorate to the Empire in favour of that House: which proves, that the Prince of *Orange* is considered as the Soul of the League which is formed against you; that he has nothing to do, but to ask and have; and has obtained, without aspiring to it, that universal Monachy which your Majesty has aimed at for so many Years, and which has cost you so much Blood,
and

and Treasure, though hitherto in vain: whilst this Prince has obtaind it, by gaining the Love of Mankind, who look upon him as their Protector and Deliverer from the Chains your Majesty would fetter them in.

I forgot to tell you, said the King, that my Agent *Biddall* has informed me, that the *Landgrave of Hesse Cassell*, and the *Marsgrave of Bareith*, are to command the confederate Army on the *Rhine*, so will stand in need of your utmost Skill; and I charge you by all means to avoid coming to an Engagement.

Let your Majesty rest contented, said *de Lorges*; if there are two Commanders, I shall find a way to disunite them: and I dare promise with my little Army to make a glorious Campaign of it.

But,

But, says the King, do you know the *Landgrave of Hesse Cassel*? and do you know that he and the Prince of *Orange* are but one; that he is a very brave Man, and that much is to be apprehended?

Yes, said *de Lorges*, if he had the sole Command; but as there are two, and that consequently each will have his own Counsellors, I shall carry my Point: it is not the first Time I have dealt with two Chiefs. It is impossible that Harmony can subsist, they must necessarily be divided in Opinion, which is more pernicious to such Command than even the Loss of a Battle.

Yet, said the King, should the Emperor *Leopold* by my Example, or imitation of the *Roman* Emperors his Predecessors, form a Resolution of taking the Field himself, and command the Army upon the *Rhine*; I should be extreamly puzzled, and
you

you would not be less so ; as I am persuaded that the Presence of a Prince who exposes his Person in the Sight of his Soldiers, emboldens and animates them to an amazing Degree. If the *Ottoman* Emperor my Ally, had taken my Advice ; and given ear to my Ambassador the Baron de *Chateaufort*, he would have headed his Army in *Hungary*; and I don't doubt but by that means he would have preserved his Conquests, and carried Terror for the second Time to the Gates of *Vienna*, and saved many a Battle lost by the Fault of his Viziers.

Sire, said *de Lorges*, the Emperor *Leopold*, and his Nephew *Charles* the second King of *Spain*, are not ambitious, they are desirous of Rest and Peace, and would willingly avoid the Horrors of War : and if your Majesty had not forced them to take up Arms, they would have had no thought of gathering Laurels in the Field of *Mars*;

Apollo

Apollo is the God they adore: every Prince has his Weakness, his Inclinations and his Passions: your Majesty loves War, the late *Charles* the Second of *England* loved Women, and your Majesty took Care he should not want them. The Emperor is fond of Musick; a Musician may make as good a Spy as a Monk. There are Rogues of every Profession. The Electors too, in Imitation of their Head, are become fond of Musick. Fiddlers and Dancers may be provided for them; there are plenty in *Brabant*; and, by the Help of some *Louis d'ors*, they may fiddle and dance themselves into the Cabinet of every Prince in the Empire.

I remember it was observed to me one Day by a *Spanish* Nobleman of good Understanding, that it was easy to account for your Majesty's having reached a greater Degree of Glory than *Henry* the fourth,

Louis

Louis the thirteenth, or any of your Predecessors. A Concurrence of fortunate Events contributed to raise you to that surprising Pitch you were arrived at; had you had such Competitors as a *Queen Elizabeth*, an *Augustus Adolphus* or a *Charles* the fifth of *Germany*, they would have disputed every Inch of Ground. But such slothful Princes as *Charles* the second and *James* the second of *England*, a *Leopold* of *Germany*, and a *Charles* the Second of *Spain*, suffer'd themselves to be either cajold or bullied by your Ministers. I must also add, that had not the Prince of *Orange* happened to live during your Majesty's Reign, who has made it a Point to oppose your Majesty in every thing that tended to bring about your favourite Scheme of universal Monarchy, *Europe* had now known no other Lord but *Louis* the fourteenth.

Pray,

Pray, says the King, what have you heard of the Treaty of Peace between the two Empires? has Sir — *Harbord*, Envoy from the Prince of Orange, been well received by the Grand Visir? I know the Interview was to be at *Belgrade*. What is your Opinion of this Treaty? Do you think that *Harbord* will have more Success than Pensionary *Hop* and Sir — *Huffey* had before him?

I am well assured, said *de Lorges*, the Grand Signior desires Peace, for his People are clamorous to have one, and it must be had at any Price, so that your Majesty has no Time to lose; a Peace must soon be concluded, for the *French* Syrens have lost their Melody, and only *St. Louis d'Or* has Influence at *Constan-
nople*. I would therefore advise your Majesty to be speedy in the Execution of your Designs; be beforehand with your
 Enemies

Enemies in the Field; and being at the Head of a powerful Army, you may command a Peace upon your own Terms. Prevent by every Means in your Power the Conclusion of a Treaty between the two Emperors; and if Money has not Power sufficient, a more effectual Remedy must be applied *. *Brinvilliers* had an infallible Secret to send troublesome People out of the Way, and a *French* Cook may be ordered to prescribe upon this Occasion.

Brinvilliers was a Woman of Quality in the Beginning of the Reign of *Louis XIV.* who had made the Art of Poisoning her chief Study, and practised it for a long time with so much Success, as to have destroyed Numbers of People. She understood this hellish Secret so well, as to make an exact Calculation of the different Operations of her Poison. Some died instantly, others languished three Months, some six, some more. She was at last burnt at the Stake for the enormous Crimes she had committed.

As soon as *de Lorges* was gone, his Majesty ordered Count *Tourville* and *John Barts* to be called in. *Tourville*, said he, I have two great Designs upon the Carpet, and have made Choice of you for the Execution of one of them; the other I shall execute myself, at the Head of 150,000 Men. I have no Time to lose; and I have resolv'd, first, to replace King *James* upon the Throne of *England*; and next, to oblige my Enemies, who had flattered themselves to stop the Course of my Conquests, to sue to me for Peace.

Nothing, says *Tourville*, is impossible to your Majesty, you have a formidable Fleet, which renders you Master of the Sea; the *English* and *Dutch* have boasted they reign'd triumphant there, but the glorious Fight of 1690 decided it in your Majesty's Favour; so that you are at Liberty to undertake what you please upon

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that

that Element: By Land you are equally strong; you have vast Armies ready to execute your great Designs; you have able Generals to command them, who have in View nothing but the Glory of their Prince: Besides, you have found the Philosopher's Stone, that is, your Majesty has found the Secret of drawing what Sums you please from your Subjects, which makes you formidable to all *Europe*, and has always made you triumphant.

I know, said the King, I am formidable to my Enemies, but I have much more Reason to promise myself Success by Land than at Sea; for should the *English* and *Dutch* act in Concert, I have much to apprehend.

If your Majesty, said *Tourville*, will take the Trouble of looking over the History of your Reign, you will find
your

your Admirals have gained many Victories over the *Holländers*, who are as much to be fear'd as the *Englisch*, for they generally suffer themselves to be sunk or blown up rather than strike; yet you will find, that at *Tabago* the Marshal *D'Etrées* sunk almost their whole Fleet; and many others which Monsieur *Du Quesne* fought upon the Coast of *Sicily*, where the famous *Dutch* Admiral *de Ruyter* was kill'd, which was an irreparable Loss to that Republick, and which she felt for many Years after. In another Fight their whole Fleet was burnt under the Canon of *Palermo*.

But, says the King, those Times are over, and Experience has convinc'd me that they are formidable. In the Year 1690, when you fought them, they had but twenty-four Men of War, and you had eighty-five, yet you had much ado

to make a drawn Battle of it; and I don't know whether my Fleet was not more damaged then theirs; for you were obliged to put into *Brest* in a shattered Condition, without having taken a single Sloop of theirs.

I own, said *Taurville*, that I was greatly surprized to find so small a Fleet able to make resistance against one that I had reason to think was invincible; and I much question whether that of *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, which was called so, when it was sent to make a Conquest of the three Kingdoms, was either more numerous or consisted of so many large Ships; the whole Fleet was engaged; *Gabaret* had like to have been killed by a Cannon Ball; and had two hundred Men killed on board his Ship: *Nesmond* did Wonders, but was so shattered that we were obliged to take him in Tow: The Count *D'Etrés* was wounded

wounded in the Leg by a Splinter, and had a vast many killed and wounded, and was greatly damaged: The Marquis *de la Porte* suffered much; and the Marquis *de Willette* was obliged to quit his Ship, as she was a perfect Wreck; above half his Men were killed, besides a great Number wounded. What I now relate to your Majesty, is but a small Part of what the Fleet suffered, though we gained the Honour of the Victory.

But, says the King, if I may depend upon my Spies in *Holland*, especially those at *Amsterdam*, the *Dutch* will have Forty-five large Ships at Sea, which being joined to the Fifty the *English* send out, will make a powerful Fleet, so that I have cause to be apprehensive; and should you unfortunately be beat, my Scheme is entirely ruined.

If the *English*, said *Tourville*, remain idle Spectators, as in all Probability they will, I am sure of Victory.

Perhaps you don't know, said the King, that the *Dutch* alone will have near as many Ships as you.

No Matter, says *Tourville*, your Majesty's Fleet consists of Forty-four large Ships, exclusive of the Six now at *Dunkirk*, and the Fourteen the Count *D'Etrées* is bringing from *Toulon*, which being joined will make a Fleet more than sufficient to beat your Enemies, though the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets should join. I shall go farther, and suppose that by contrary Winds, *D'Etrées* should not be able to join me, I engage at the Hazard of my Life to fight them with my Forty-four Ships; and what is more, to come off Conqueror.

Have

Have a Care, said the King; it is a trite Saying, that he who reckons without his Host must reckon twice. *Mazarine* always told me in my Infancy, that Forecaſt and Prudence were the firſt Steps to riſe to Fortune; and that a Prince who did not foreſee the Miſfortunes that might happen, was not worthy to reign. I always followed his Maxims, and never left any Thing to Chance, and have found my Account in it; ſo that I have ordered all my Generals, under Pain of Death, not to hazard a Battle, unleſs they are almoſt ſure of Victory.

But to ſhorten the Affair, this is the Method you are to obſerve in attacking my Enemies:

Having drawn up the Fleet in Order of Battle, you muſt bear down upon them,

and stand directly opposite to the *English*, and after having hoisted a red Flag, you must salute Admiral *Ruffel* with two Guns; after this Salvo, you must give a Signal for the whole Fleet to do the same; this Ceremony over, you will be able to judge how that Admiral stands inclined; and if I can believe King *James*, we are sure of Victory; for upon this Signal the whole *English* Fleet will join you; then you are to face the *Dutch*, and attack them with your whole Fleet; and as by the Junction of the *English* you will be double their Number, I flatter myself you will be able to gain a signal Victory; and observe I give you a Charge to spare none; you must on this Occasion be inexorable; let none escape; remember the Fight of 1690, and take Care you do not let them get away as they did then. During the Engagement, King *James* will remain upon the Coast, and if

favourable

favourable to us, make an immediate Descent upon *England*.

The King then addressed himself to *Barts*; Well *John*, said he, how go on the Prizes; have you made many Captures lately? you seem to have struck a Terror into the *English* and *Dutch*.

Sire, says *Barts*, if it pleased your Majesty, I have resolved to carry Privateering; to such a Height, as to deserve the Name of Prince of Pirates; and I expect, that after my Death the People of *Dunkirk* and *St. Malo's*, will invoke me as their tutelar Saint; and when I am canonized, as to be sure I shall be, my Name in the Calendar will stand thus, JOHN BARTS, THE HOLY ROBBER.

Ay, but *John*, said the King, if the *Dutch* should lay hold of you, what would become of you?

H 5

Why

Why Sire, says *John*, I don't much like the Privateers of *Zeland*, formerly my Brother Thieves, but now my most inveterate Enemies; they are mad at my betraying my Country, and entering into your Majesty's Service, and call me in their Language *Vrede Breeker*, that is, Infractor of the Peace; so that I am convinced they will never forgive me.

Well now let us be serious, said the King, I have two great Designs in Hand, one in *Flanders*, and the other in *England*, and am at the Eve of executing them, and shall stand in need of my whole Force, both by Land and Sea, and have for this Purpose assembled all my Generals, that I may have their different Opinions how this Affair must be conducted. My Intent is to march into *Flanders* at the Head of an hundred and fifty Thousand Men, and to form the
 Siege

Seige of the strongest Place in *Europe*; and whilst I am thus employed, you must assemble all the Privateers you can, over which I now constitute you Admiral, in consideration of the many Services you have done me: you must act on the one Side, whilst Count *Tourville* is employed on the other, according to the Orders I have given him: you are to watch his Motions, and to act accordingly.

When they were gone, the King ordered Monsieur *Pomponne* to be called in.

Pomponne, said he, I shall leave the Kingdom in your Charge, I am at the Eve of my Departure, the Resolution is taken, and I am going into *Flanders* at the Head of an Army of an Hundred and fifty Thousand Men, and shall leave the Government in your Hands, during my Absence. You are the ablest of my Ministers, and after the
Death.

Death of *Louvois*, I could not have made choice of a fitter : Father *La Chaise*, my Confessor indeed was against it ; the ancient Quarrels his Order had with your Uncle, the great *Arnaud*, still runs in his Head.

Sire, says *Pomponne*, Jansenism will always flourish in your Kingdom, in spite of the *Jesuits* and their Obstinacy, and I cannot forget what I have suffered upon their Account, the Trouble they gave me, made me resolve upon a voluntary Exile, and by retiring from Business, free myself from their Malice. Monsieur *Louvois* was no Friend of mine neither, he was too closely linked with Father *La Chaise*, not to have joined their Interests in attempting my Destruction : but without raking into the Ashes of the Dead, I cannot help rejoicing that your Majesty seems to be convinced

vinced of my Innocence, by the great Trust you are pleased to repose in me.

As you have been Ambassador in *Holland*, said the King, and are perfectly acquainted with the Genius and Interests of that People, you will easily conceive my View in heading my Army, 'tis a Master Stroke, and, if attended with Success, will infallibly oblige them to beg a Peace.

It is almost Time, said *Pomponne*, your Majesty should set some Bounds to your Ambition; and ease your People; your Kingdom is almost ruined, and the heavy Taxes begin to be insupportable; your Majesty has a nice Game to play; it is dangerous for so great a Prince to expose himself too much; if your Presence is necessary in your Army, it is no less so in your Kingdom, where you are better able to maintain your Authority, and redress the
Chmplaints

Complaints of your People, and preserve that Harmony, so necessary between the Governor and the Governed; the Experience of former Times proves, that those Kings who have remained in their Cabinets, have done greater Things than those who have rambled over the World in quest of Glory. *Charles* the fifth and *Lewis* the Eleventh in *France*, have performed more without stirring from their Capital, than *Lewis* the young and *Philip Augustus* in crossing the Seas, and carrying their Arms into *Africa*. We still feel the Inconveniences brought upon *France*, by the Imprisonment of *St. Louis*, King *John*, and *Francis* the First; these are mortal Wounds given to a State, and are irreparable Losses when they happen.

My Resolution is fixed, said the King, and there can be no more Danger in this Campaign, than there was in that of *Mons.*
and

and many others I have undertaken, during the Course of my Reign. Fortune is my Friend, and will not abandon me in so glorious an Undertaking; a King can never be called glorious, till he has carried his Arms into his Enemy's Country, to make them know the Strength, and feel the Sweets of his Government: I had all my Life an Aversion to those indolent Kings of the first Race, who did not rule their Kingdoms, but suffered themselves to be ruled by the Mayors of their Palaces. Nothing is more pernicious to a Prince, than Sloth and too much Ease. *Nero*, who during the first Years of his Reign made such a shining Figure, tarnished all that Lustre by his Cruelty and Debauchies, which were but the Consequence of his having given himself up to an idle Life.

If your Majesty is resolved, said *Pompey*, upon this Method, in order to bring about

about a Peace, I wish you Success with all my Heart, and a glorious Campaign.

The Time of my Departure, said the King, draws near; I charge you to be careful of the new Catholics, which I shall look upon in my Absence as my most formidable Enemies; you know what Pains I have been at to bring them back to the true Faith, and what Means I have been obliged to use to root out the cursed Tares, that had introduced themselves among the Wheat.

I know not, said *Pomponne*, how far your Majesty might be right in giving them up to the Power of their unrelenting Enemies. But this I know, that I myself have felt the Weight of their Persecution; and the good Father *La Chaise* wreck'd his Malice upon me as well as upon them. And I can't help observing to your Majesty, that your Grandfather

father *Henry* the fourth, had never got the Crown but for their Assistance: for the Catholicks had formed a Party against him which they called the League; and would have stopt his Approaches to the Throne, but for his Protestant Friends. And he, as an Acknowledgment for their Fidelity and Services, granted them the *Edict of Nantz*. So that your Majesty will please to consider, that if you now wear the Crown as Successor to the great *Henry*, you are as much beholden to them for it as he was.

Come, said the King, let us speak of other Matters. It is sufficient to inform you that my Council of Conscience has order'd it so, and it was not in my Power to prevent their Persecution.—I am now going to set out, and recommend the Care of my Kingdom to you: assist the Queen of *Great Britain*, the Prince of *Wales* and the Princess: visit them often, and endeavour to comfort them
under

under their Misfortunes : tell them from me, that I am going where Glory calls, and shall endeavour to bring about their Re-establishment. I also recommend the Dauphine to your Care : represent to him how much he hurts his Reputation, by preferring the Sports of *Diana* to those of *Mars*. Have an Eye upon my Grand Children, entertain them with the great Actions of their Grandfather ; but I chiefly recommend the eldest to you, whom I commonly call Prince of *Condi* ; because in Fact I think I perceive in him all the good Qualities of that great Prince. Be careful of my foreign Correspondence : receive the Letters that shall be wrote to me, and see the Pensions exactly paid to those who furnish me with Intelligence. Take Care of my Finances ; assist *Pontchartrain* with your Advice, and lend him a helping hand to procure the necessary Funds for the next Campaign : Money is the Sinews of War ;

with out

without that I should be a King without Power, and all my vast Designs would vanish into Smoak.

It is said, says *Pomponne*, of *Dagobert*, that he caused the Church of *St. Denis* to be covered with Silver, but your Majesty converts your Silver to another Use, your Piety is different from his, and is rather like that of the Commander, who finding the Images of the twelve Apostles of that Metal in a Church, had them melted down and coined, and said they should go and preach the Gospel all over the World, according to the Order they had received from their Lord and Master.

Pomponne being gone out, the King ordered *Barbesieux* and *Chanlais* to be called in.

Barbesieux,

Barbafieux, said he, a grand Design is in Hand; I am now at the Eve of executing an Affair of the utmost Importance; the Siege of *Mons* was nothing in Comparison to it. I am going at the Head of an Army of one hundred and fifty thousand Men, to form the Siege of a Place which is the Key of all the Low Countries. *Luxembourg* has made the Thing as plain to me as the Sun at Noon Day.

Sire, says *Chanlais*, your Majesty must make Haste; for I am informed the Prince of *Orange* will open the Campaign very early.

No Matter, said the King, I shall have almost eighty thousand Men more than he, and shall be covered by three powerful Armies; besides, I shall send *Boufflers* to occupy the Defiles; and *Luxembourg* has assured.

assured me I have no more to fear than if I was at *Versailles*.

If that is the Case, said *Barbesieux*, your Majesty acts with Prudence and Safety, whilst the Prince of *Orange* is exposed to the most imminent Dangers.

Sire, said *Chanlais*, Gold and Treason are two Master Keys to you, which open every Door; they do more in one Instant than the most powerful Army.

We must make Use of both, said the King; I have found the Way to tame both the Lion and the Fox, and I march but to take Possession of what I have already purchased.

That is not all, said *Barbesieux*, your Majesty must take the shortest Road to obtain a Peace; the Want of every Thing
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is a dangerous Sickness, and that begins to be felt all over your Kingdom.

You have hit the Mark, said the King; Peace is the only Thing I aim at by this present Expedition.

I can point out a shorter Way, said *Barbesieux*.

Which is that, said the King?

It is to put in Practice the Project my late Father the Marquis of *Louvois* had traced out, which I have found among his Papers; that is the grand Point of View which your Majesty should never lose Sight of.

What is it, said his Majesty?

'Tis

'Tis to fend the Prince of *Orange*, who is chief of the Confederacy, to his Fathers, if your Majesty will but consent to it; he holds the Rudder, and is the *primum Mobile* that moves the whole Empire, and the other States at War with your Majesty.

By this Means, added *Chanlais*, King *James* would soon remount his Throne, and your Majesty would be able to give Law to the Allies: as soon as they were deprived of their Chief, they would be like Sheep without a Shepherd; the Mastiffs of *England* once laid aside, the Wolf might enter the Fold, and sacrifice all to his Resentment.

But how can it be, said the King; the very mention of it shocks me? That is not the Affair; your Majesty has got in a
Slough,

Slough, and you must get out of it in the best Manner you can.

Good God! said the King, if the World should know I had consented to such a Deed, what would they say of me?

When I have convinced your Majesty, said *Barbesieux*, of the Necessity of the Case, and how easy it is to carry it into Execution; we shall then endeavour to remove the Scruples of your Conscience.

How do you mean, said the King?

I have two Fellows ready, said *Barbesieux*, *Grandval* and *Dumont*, who will undertake it; I answer for the Consequences of it, and can promise your Majesty Success.

What

What then, said the King, you have got your People ready?

Sire, says *Barbescieux*, my late Father did your Majesty many Services during your Reign; and would have added this, if Death had not prevented him; but on his Death-bed gave me a Charge to see it executed.

What, had *Louvois* then undertaken it, said the King? I should never have thought that of him.

Is your Majesty then acquainted, said *Barbescieux*, that the Duke of *Lorraine* and Sir ~~Harbord~~ *Harbord* were both dispatched by Poison? This replaced your Affairs upon the *Rhine* on a good Footing, and made the Propositions of Peace which the Grand Signior had made to the Emperor vanish

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into Smoak. Don't flatter yourself, Sire; you owe every Thing to Poison and Money; if it had not been for those Resources, you would never have pushed your Frontiers so far.

Speak low, said the King; I would not for a hundred Kingdoms the Prince of Orange should get Scent of this.

Sire, said *Chanlais*, your Majesty must know there is no Prince upon the Face of the Earth more unsuspecting than the Prince of *Orange*; he exposes himself to all Manner of Danger without dreading the Event: His Notion of Predestination makes him fearless. His common Saying is, that what God keeps is well kept; so your Majesty has nothing to do but to give us your Approbation, let the Crime be ours.

But,

But, said the King, I think *Grandval* and *Dumont* are not sufficient for so great an Undertaking; they stand in Need of some Assistance.

Without doubt, said *Barbeseux*, and your Majesty must know that King *James* is at the Head of this Affair; besides whom, we have got ten Men fit to undertake any Thing; their Names are *Grandval*, *Dumont*, *Liefdal*, *Rabenac*, *Bidal*, *Luxembourg*, *Paperel*, *Parker*, *Chanlais*, and *Barbeseux*; and if your Majesty enters into the Scheme, it will add great Weight to the Undertaking.

And in *England* our Tools are at work; Money and Arms have been distributed to the disaffected Gentry in that Kingdom. *Bromfield*, a rich Quaker in *Cheshire*, has undertaken to manage the *Roman* Catho-

licks in *Lancashire*; and has taken for Associates *Gordon*, *Lunt* and *Thrillfall*, who are come from *Ireland*, and have Commissions from King *James* to be distributed amongst his Friends. *Gordon* is to act in *Scotland*, *Thrillfall* in *Yorkshire*, and *Lunt* in *Staffordshire*, in which Counties King *James* has many Partizans, who are ready upon a proper Signal to take up Arms for his Restoration; besides which, by the Capitulation of *Limerick*, your Majesty has reserved a Liberty to retain a considerable Body of *Irish* Forces in your Service, which may be sent over with King *James*: These Troops are rather irritated than discouraged by their late Misfortunes, and ready to go through the most difficult Undertakings for the Service of their deposed Prince: They look upon the Happiness of the *English* with Envy: Such Men are the fittest to be employed in a Design of this Nature, and will prove the
most

most effectual Instruments to bring our Designs to bear.

There are three Sorts of Persons in *England* whom we may look upon as our Friends; the first are the zealous and bigotted Catholicks, or rather indeed all the Catholicks; for though some of them appear more cautious and moderate, 'tis the Opinion of King *James*, 'tis mine, and 'tis that of a great many other People, that they will all take up Arms when a fair Occasion offers. The second Order of *Jacobites* consists of the late King's Servants, who owe their Advancement to his Favour; whom not only Religion, but the strongest Ties of Gratitude, bind to his Service: these Men, with their Dependants and Family Concessions, will make no inconsiderable Number. The third comprehends those whose Interest and Safety depends upon the Subversion

of the Laws of that Country ; Men of turbulent Spirits and desperate Fortunes, who hope to raise themselves upon the Ruin of their Country. To some of the Ringleaders of these Money must be distributed, and Promises in Abundance. Your Majesty must not make a Point of Conscience of promising more upon this Occasion than you mean to perform ; the End will justify the Means, and the Rules of good Policy make it necessary ; it will be doing a Service acceptable to God, to endeavour by all Means to extirpate Heresy.

But is not encouraging Rebellion, said the King, setting my own Subjects an Example, which may one Day prove fatal to me or my Descendants ?

By no Means, said *Barbesieux*, the Example of your Times are sufficient to convince

vince your Majesty, that nothing can shake the Loyalty of your People; besides, there is a wide difference between the now King of *England* and your Majesty; you ascended the Throne by Inheritance, the Prince of *Orange* has usurped his Power, and all Means become lawful to deprive him of what he unjustly possesses.

But methinks, said the King, there are not Men of Consequence enough embarked in this Design to give us any Hopes of a prosperous Issue.

More, said *Barbesieux*, than your Majesty conceives; besides those already mentioned, there is Sir *William Parkins*, a Man of great Eminence in the Law, and of great Estate in *Nottinghamshire*; Sir *John Friend* is a rich Brewer of *London*, a Man of great Vanity, but a weak

Head, who may be brought to any thing ;
and though his Parts can be of little Service, his Purse may.

Sir *John Fenwick* is a Man of good Estate and great Experience, having had the Command of a Regiment in the Troops that were sent over to *Holland* ; by Inclination a warm Friend to King *James*, who will spare neither Pains nor Cost to promote that Prince's Interest ; and, as a Proof of his Zeal and Fidelity, has undertaken to raise a Regiment of Horse for his Service. The two former have undertaken to do the same ; and one Mr. *Tempest*, of *Durham*, has promised to raise one of Dragoons ; and though *Parker* be in *France*, there is one actually raised in his Name, and the Commissions are distributed to all the Officers that are to serve under him : here are five Regiments that may be depended on, besides a large
Body

Body of Horse ready in *Lancashire*, to whom Sir *John Friend* pays Subsistence-Money.

The Earl of *Alisbury*, a Nobleman of great Influence and great Estate, has engaged his Honour; as has the Lord *Montgomery*, Son to the Earl of *Powis*, and Messieurs *Charnock*, *Porter*, *Goodman*, and *Cook*. These met at a Tavern in *London*, and the Result of their Consultation was, to depute one of their Body to King *James*, to entreat him to procure eight thousand Foot, a thousand Horse, and a thousand Dragoons from your Majesty; and they promise on their Part to meet these Forces at their Landing with two thousand Horse which they shall raise among them, which they purpose to do by seizing on all the Horses in and about *London* as soon as the Project is ripe for

L 5 Execution.

Execution; and they have already taken a List of them.

But, in order to leave nothing to Chance, a Set of Men are procured who have undertaken to dispatch the Prince of *Orange*; so that it will be next to a Miracle if he should escape the Snare both in *England* and here. Sir *George* —, a resolute *Scotchman*, has undertaken to attempt it there, with a select Number of his Friends; and if he should fail, I have already inform'd your Majesty that *Grandwal* has undertaken to perform it here; so that now nothing remains but your Majesty's Consent, and the Work is done.

As to me, said the King, I am not intirely my own Master; I have a Sovereign that governs my Will, and has a greater Sway over me than I have over my Subjects; I mean my Council of Conscience;

science ; so that I dare not engage in this Undertaking till I have first had their Consent.

Time presses, said *Barbeseux*, and we have now a favourable Opportunity.

Well then, said the King, I shall advise with my Council about it.

Madame Maintenon then came in with Father *La Chaize*, with a great Folio Book under his Arm, whose Title was, *The Art of Assassinating Kings*. The Archbishop of *Paris* could not attend, on account of some Dispatches he was to send to *Rome*, and the Post was just ready to set off.

Reverend Father, said the King, addressing himself to *La Chaize*, you are a great Casuist, and have, like St. *Peter*,
the

the Power of binding and unbinding with me. A Murder is now on Foot, and I want to know whether I can, with a clear Conscience, give my Consent to it. *Barbafleux* has just proposed a Scheme which will infallibly lead to Peace; am I excusable in consenting to the Death of one Man, in order to preserve the Lives of Thousands?

What is the Case, said *Le Chaise*?

I have been advised, said the King, to rid myself of the Prince of Orange, who is the grand Obstacle to all my Schemes; and as he exposes his Person very much, *Grandval* and *Dumont* have undertaken to deliver him up to me, dead or alive.

Opus plane Divinum, said *Le Chaise*, 'tis God's Work, I absolve you, and opening the Book he had under his Arm,

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Ill convince your Majesty, said he, by the Opinion of some of the greatest Men of our Society, *Garnet, Suarez, Eudemon, Parsons, Zimancha, Escobar, Sanchez, Saiman, Filinius*, and many others, are very clear, that to take off a Heretick Prince, either by the Sword, by Poison, or in any other Manner, is an Action pleasing to God, and the direct Road to Paradise.

Are you clear, said the King, that I may venture upon this necessary Expedient without incurring the Displeasure of the Almighty?

Leave that to me, said *La Chaise*, I have the keeping of your Majesty's Conscience; I take the Guilt, if there is any in it, and absolve your Majesty. Can there be a Crime in punishing a Criminal? such the Prince of Orange is. He has
 111
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been guilty of the Murder of many of King James's liege Subjects ; he has robb'd him of his Crown, which was his by Inheritance and right Divine, and he still keeps unlawful Possession of it. Is it not allow'd us, added he, to destroy a Wolf, a Bear, or any other noxious Animal? the Laws of Preservation require this ; those of Prudence demand the other. Is not this *Orange* endeavouring to deprive you of your Crown and Kingdom, and what is still more, your Glory ; and can your Majesty hesitate one Moment at making use of the Means which God has put into your Hands to frustrate his Designs ?

What says my *Maintenon* to this, said the King, may I believe *Le Chaise's* Sophistry ?

I am, said *Maintenon*, neither Politician, Casuist, or Divine, and cannot pretend to advise your Majesty in so critical an Affair. Self-defence is certainly the first Law of Nature; and if your Majesty is convinced that the Prince of *Orange* aims at the Destruction of you and your Kingdom—

Is it not plain, said *La Chaize*, interrupting her; besides, if it were not, is he not a Heretick, and consequently an Enemy to God? The Action is meritorious, the Neglect of it criminal, as by such an Omission the Church of God will be endangered. I could bring several Texts of Scripture to prove the Lawfulness of it, and cannot undertake to insure your Majesty's Soul, if you refuse to do the Church this Piece of Justice.

If Things are so, said the King, I consent; let *Barbesieux* act as he shall see convenient; but let him be careful that my Glory may not suffer.

Now let us put an End to this Conference, which is shocking to Humanity, by the Motto of the Garter, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, and observe, that King *William* was always ready to forgive his Enemies, nay, even to beseech the Lord to forgive them; but let us on the other Hand allow, that this Attempt was cowardly, and base to the last Degree, and which *Louis* the Great, amidst his Glory and his Triumphs, will never be able to wash away, were he to use all the Water of *Versailles*, and the Royal Canal. *Messieurs Boileau* and *La Fontaine*, who are now compiling his History, ought not to forget that cool and deliberate Murder was one of the Steps, by which he attempted to rise to Immortality:

talities: this must be the most shining Period of his Reign, and worthy the Admiration of future Ages. Let us go further, and observe that many of the Actions of this Prince, which his Flatterers have called great and heroick, are mean and scandalous, and were the Actions of his Life and Reign blended together, and melted down in a political Furnace, nothing would remain on the Test of Honesty, but Filth and Dross.

Let us say what we can in Favour of his Glory, which is his darling Passion; he is in fact one of the greatest Kings, that ever sat on the Throne of *France*, a great Politician, judicious in the Choice of his Council, knowing Men well, and might indeed have been a Hero, had he known himself better, and had not suffered his Courtiers to exalt him to a Divinity, and not fallen into the Error of *Alexander*, who
suffered

suffered divine Honours to be paid him; let him remember that this vain Homage was the Forerunner of the Decay of this Prince's Empire, and blasted the vast Designs he had formed of the Conquest of *Asia*. I would rather advise him to get rid of those Ravens, who are eternally croaking about him, and will never leave him, till they have persuaded him to do all the Evil he is capable of. This is the Source of all the Mischiefs that now afflict *Europe*; if this Prince could once see his true Interest, we should see him become the Admiration of all Mankind, and reach that imaginary Immortality, which he has so long been aiming at: So much for *Louis*. Now let us attempt the Character of his Friend King *James*.

This Prince, as all the World knows, has long bid adieu to Glory, and it may truly be said of him, that he has forfeited

his

his Crown, to become a Slave to another Prince. We should not then wonder at his becoming an Actor in this bloody Tragedy; tis not the first Time that he has imbrued his Hands in the Blood of the Innocent; the Death of the Earl of *Essex*, and that of his Brother, are Instances too recent to be easily forgot; but he ought to remember that he was once in the Hands of his Competitor, who scorned to take the Advantage that Fortune had thrown in his Way; and could he but imitate the Virtues of this great Prince, instead of making him the Object of his Hatred, and looking upon him as his mortal Enemy, he might at least have borne the Character of an honest Man, which I doubt he has not, nor never will have. God forgive him, and may no Prince hereafter, from the Motives of Revenge, be tempted to act so infamous a Part.

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We shall not speak of *Barbescieux*, who was the Contriver of this execrable Affair; the Dagger became necessary in his Hand, ready to be plunged into the Hearts of those, who were Obstacles to the Glory of of his Master, and to secure himself in the tottering Seat of Power, he had acquired by the Death of the Marquis of *Louvois* his Father.

As to *Luxembourg*, Murder is his Trade, he spares none, he sins from Custom, and is too old to mend. To give a just Idea of the Man, let us give a Copy of the Covenant, he is said to have entered into with the Devil,

1. He gave himself up, Soul and Body to him, with a Promise,

2. That

2. That he should never mention the Name of God, and never go to Mass.

3. That he should be a Stranger to Mercy and Pity.

Upon these Conditions the Devil promised,

1. To favour him in all his Enterprizes.

2. That he should gain every Battle he fought.

3. That

3. That he should be always
in Favour with the King.

4. To obtain every Thing he
wished of the Fair Sex.

5. He should be invulnerable.

6. That he should live to be

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It may perhaps be asked, where he was before the Battle of *Fleurus*, which drew him from the Obscurity he had long been buried in, as he had never been heard of since the last *Dutch War*: Many believed him dead; some thought he was at the Head of the *Scotch Highland Rebels*; others conjectured he had turned *Turk*, had been made a *Vizir*, and was in the *Ottoman Army*;

Army; and from the ill Success, which attended their Arms during the first Campaigns, and the surprizing Turn their Affairs took, it was judged that his Necromancy had much contributed to gain them so many Victories. But others, with a greater Appearance of Reason, imagined that the King had given him up to Justice, that he might be made an Example of, as Madam *Brinvilliers* had been, in order to appease the Clergy; for Father *La Chaise* was his declared Enemy, and called for his Death as loudly, as an Attorney General does for that of a Criminal guilty of high Treason. So the World gave him up, and supposed him at the Eve of perishing on a Scaffold, with as much Infamy as his wretched Father had done, as the Crime he was accused of, was attended with even more aggravating Circumstances, and was of a blacker Dye; as he was accused not only of Poison, but of Magick: besides,

the

the Death of the Count *Soissons*, which he was charged with, called aloud for Vengeance. Others were of Opinion, that the King, as angry as he appeared against him, recollecting the Services he had received from him, had changed his Sentence of Death into Banishment or perpetual Imprisonment. It was even likely that this last Punishment had taken Place before the rest, notwithstanding the Rigour with which his Accusers pursued him, who thought that the most shameful Death was scarce sufficient to extirpate his many Crimes.

Nevertheless, it is the Opinion of those who are the best acquainted with his History, that these Hints were thrown out only to amuse the People: For the Fact is, that the Marquis of *Louvois* stood his Friend; and 'tis to him that *Luxembourg* owes not only his Life and Liberty, but also

also the Honour he enjoys of commanding his Majesty's Armies.

Larvois perceiving that the Confederacy formed against *Luxembourg* would be too powerful, resolved to save him, as he foresaw that *France* would one Day stand in need of a Man of such Abilities, as all the old experienced Generals were dropping off, and that he was the only one that could supply their Place; for they had lost *Turenne*, the Prince of *Condé*, and Marshal *Schomberg*; the two former by Death, and the latter on the Score of Religion. He judged their Loss would be irreparable, unless he set all his Engines to work to save his Life; for as Things were then Circumstanced, the Kingdom stood in need of a Man of his Abilities to disperse the Storm that threatened it.

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Sire,

Sire, said he to the King, your Majesty is now at the Eve of the most bloody War, that ever this Kingdom was engaged in, as most of the Powers of *Europe* have entered into a Confederacy against you; you will therefore have Occasion for different Armies, and you have no General fit to Command; it is true you have many Lieutenant Generals, but not one fit to command in Chief. I know of none but *Luxembourg*, he is the only one that bids fair to be a great Commander, if he is not so already, and consequently able to do you many Services; I would, therefore, advise your Majesty to pass slightly over the Crimes he stands accused of; yet I would advise you to save Appearances with your Council of Conscience, by letting him remain in the Bastile; but underhand to check the Proceedings against him; this will deceive his Prosecutors, and satisfy even those

those that are most irritated against him; who not being able to fathom the Cause of the Delay, will grow tired of prosecuting him; by this means you will save a Man, whom, I foresee, will one Day be of infinite Use to your Majesty.

During this Discourse *Louvois* perceived that the King seemed moved, and imagined *Madam Maintenon* might be of Service, in bringing the Affair about: he therefore waited on her, and represented to her, as he had done to the King, the Necessity there was of saving him, who must infallibly be lost, if the Thing was delayed a Fortnight longer; as his Prosecutors were determined, at all Events, to make an Example of him; he added, there was no Time to lose, and that *France* would one Day own the Obligation of having saved so valuable a Subject; for besides the Services he had already done the King, it was

very probable he might do much more, that he was the only one left of so many brave Commanders, who had served in the former Wars; that having been under *Turenne* and *Conde*, he had learned from them how to command an Army, and did not know any other that was fit for it.

Madam Maintenon, who was become Mistress of the King's Will, by her engaging Behaviour, was so thoroughly persuaded of the Truth of what *Louvois* had told her, that she immediately espoused the Cause of *Luxembourg*, and promised to speak to his Majesty in his Behalf, the very first Opportunity, and did not doubt but she should obtain his Pardon, unless the Intrigues of Father *La Chaise* and the Archbishop of *Paris* should obstruct her Design. That as to the Chief of the Clergy, she knew

knew the Way to stop his Mouth; but as to Father *La Chaise*, she was afraid of him, as he was a powerful and dangerous Enemy; but she would endeavour to persuade them both, which she did in fact; and *Luxembourg* is as much obliged to her for his Life and Liberty, as to Monsieur *Louvois*, as they had each a Hand in his Preservation.

The King being won-over, and the Storm intirely laid, *Luxembourg* began to breathe the Sweets of Liberty; he was no longer confined so close as he had been, and his Guards were not so watchful over him; he was, however, a long Time detained in the Bastile, which the Court thought necessary; as it should not appear there was any Connivance in the Matter, or that they authoris'd a Crime; by granting Liberty to a Man, whom the Laws of his Country judg'd worthy of Death; but

by preparing the People by Degrees, his Enlargement, at length, should be no surprize to them.

The Time came at last when *France* stood in need of his Services, as *Louvois* had foretold; and the King having experienced that during the first Campaign, which was that of 1689, his Armies were not well conducted, and did not answer his Expectation, which was not owing to the want of sufficient Force, but to the want of able Generals, call'd *Luxembourg* from his Prison, and gave him a free Pardon, expecting that this fresh Instance of his Favour might induce him, from a Motive of Gratitude, to be doubly diligent in his Duty. He also gave him the Command of the Army in *Flanders*, as he had signalized himself in the former War in that Country, except at the Battle of *St Denis*, where he was defeated. The
King

King also knew that Mercy was not among the Number of the Marshal's Virtues; and as Severity was necessary to bring the *Spaniards* and *Hollanders* to Reason, he judg'd he could not make use of a fitter Instrument to make them hearken to Terms of Peace, which was the sole Point his Majesty had in View.

Experience has now prov'd that *Louvois* was right in his Conjectures, and *Luxembourg* has ever since made it a Point to answer his most sanguine Expectations, by the many Services he has rendered his Country, not only by supporting the War with Honour, but also in pointing out the shortest Way to obtain an honourable Peace: and as he is prone to every Sort of Wickedness, he readily lent a Hand to the Plot upon King *William*.

Chanlais, who was the fourth Actor in this bloody Affair, work'd unseen. It would better have become him to have maintained the Character of a Soldier, than to have appear'd upon the Stage as the Executioner's Deputy.

Let *Rabenak* appear next, who was so zealous in the Cause; I know he will plead, that Zeal for his Master's Interest prompted him to it: but will this furious Zeal for his Master's Service be a sufficient Plea for him at that dreadful Bar, where even his Master must be tried? But perhaps the Stings of Conscience may work him to Repentance during his Abode at *Rome*, and he may endeavour to obtain Absolution of the Holy Father for his engaging in so execrable an Attempt.

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As to *Bidal* and *Paparel*, let us join them together; their Honour and Conscience are much of the same Stamp: were they weigh'd in the Scale of Virtue, 'tis difficult to say which would preponderate; so we need not wonder that they made no Scruple of engaging in this infamous *Affair*.

Parker, an *English* Officer, did but follow the Directions of *King James*, who flatter'd him with vain Hopes of making his Fortune. All we shall say of him is, that Master and Man were much alike; the Lord forgive them both, and give them Time to repent of so atrocious a Crime.

The next is *Monsieur Moreau*, a meer Shittle-Cock, the greatest Sycophant about the Court, and ready to engage in any Enterprize

terprize likely to recommend him to the Favour of his Master.

As to *Grandval*, *Dumont* and *Leafdal*, who blindly came into the Execution of this horrid Plot, let it suffice to say, that the Hopes of pleasing the Minister, and the Expectation of Reward, prompted them on to the Commission of a Fact, which Reason, Humanity, the Laws of God and Man, the Order of Society, and all Things forbid.

But what is most surprizing is, that *Madam Maintenon* should come into this horrid Scheme: The World allows her many Virtues; but how are those Virtues compatible with Murder, a Murder of the blackest Dye! Sure this is not intended as an Example to the Ladies of the Abby of St. Cyr, of which she is the Superior; and

and a Woman of her Sense cannot expect to obtain Absolution for such a Crime; Reasons of State will not be a sufficient Excuse, when she comes to appear before that Tribunal, where Kings must be judged like common Men.

Though Father *la Chaise's* Crimes are manifold, yet Charity obliges us to believe that this is the greatest; yet let him tremble when he reflects that all his Art, Diffimulation and Eloquence will not be sufficient to acquit him before God, of having attempted the Life of a Prince who never injured him.

To swell the Number of those Assassins, let us add the Names of *James Clement, Barriere, Chastel, Ravilliac, Invergni, Venero, Balisbazar, Gerard, Peter Panni and Parry*, who attempted the Lives of Henry

the

the Third, *Henry* the IVth, *William* the Great, Prince of *Orange*, his Son, Prince *Maurice*, and Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*.

Is it not surprizing to see so many People of the Court of *France*, who formerly expressed so much Hoorror at this detestable Doctrine of King-killing, chearfully associate to dip their Hands in the Blood of this great and good Prince? We must suppose that this powerful Monarchy is now governed by Jesuits; and that instead of *Louis* the XIVth, *Father la Chaise* sits upon the Throne of *France*, and deals about his bloody Orders without Fear or Controul. But let us suppose that this bloody Step was taken to accelerate the Peace, Experience shews us that *Louis* the XIVth has often been mistaken in the Means he has chosen to bring about his
vast

vast Designs : He was mistaken in his No-
 tion of restoring King *James* ; he was
 mistaken in his Expectations from the
 Battle of *la Hogue*, in his Attempt to pre-
 vent the Duke of *Savoy* entering *Dau-*
phine ; and he miscarried in his Attempt
 upon King *William*. It is true, he be-
 came Master of *Namur*, which was one
 of the four great Objects he had in View ;
 but this Success was more than counter-
 balanced by the Ruin of his Fleet ; the
 Scheme of restoring King *James*, and the
 glorious Irruption of the Duke of *Savoy*,
 who laid his Country under Contribution,
 and by the eternal Shame which must at-
 tend him for his infamous Attempt upon
 the Life of a great Prince : The Success
 of these Events was what flattered this
 Monarch at the Beginning of the Cam-
 paign ;

paig; let us see what Wiles he will put
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 that the Way to become truly great, is to
 make his People happy, and give the
 World Repose,

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